

NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW

SEPTEMBER 1953

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NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

The National Municipal Review

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NEWS for League Members

Timely Topics Set for Conference

An imposing array of panel discussions of more than twenty timely public affairs topics, headed up by some of the nation's foremost authorities, will feature the League's 59th annual National Conference on Government at the Jefferson Hotel, Richmond, Virginia, November 8-11.

Businessmen, leaders of civic organizations, public officials, political scientists, students and many others interested in good government will come to the Conference from all over the United States and from foreign countries as well to exchange ideas and experiences in an effort to bring about improvement of local, county and state government in their localities.

Educational TV

Several new subjects will be among those discussed this year. Mass civic education will be one of them—a panel on the coming of educational television and the use of educational films as a means of improving the citizenry and its government. Another will be on the newspaper and citizen action, covering the relationship between newspapers and civic organizations. The session on governing the nation's capital will consider the question of home rule and getting the vote for residents of Washington, as well as the area's metropolitan problems. Another new panel will be that on ethics for legislators, in which a code of ethics will be discussed.

Other sessions will explore such subjects as annexation, relationships of council and manager, women in public affairs, cities and the national govern-

Bird Named Chairman of State Fiscal Body

Frederick L. Bird of New York, a member of the League's Council, is chairman of an eleven-member com-



Frederick L. Bird

mission appointed in July by Governor Thomas E. Dewey to conduct an analysis of the state's financial operations and to prepare for possible revision of overlapping federal, state and local taxes.

Dr. Bird is director of municipal research for Dun & Bradstreet, Inc., New York, and a specialist in public finance.

The 1953 legislature appropriated \$575,000 for the group, named the Temporary Commission on Fiscal Affairs of the State Government.

ment, civic education in the schools, business and professional men in public office, state planning and resource development, more responsible states, effective citizens' associations, municipal public relations, the model fiscal program, youth in civic affairs, technical assistance to public officials, state and local responsibility in law enforcement

(Continued on page 432)



The Governor's Palace at Williamsburg, Virginia

Tour of Williamsburg Arranged

Visitors to this year's National Conference on Government at Richmond have a real treat in store for them.

To give Conference-goers the feel of the rich tradition of colonial Virginia, the local arrangements committee will sponsor a tour of historic Williamsburg on Sunday, November 8, the day before the sessions get under way. Those who plan to come to the Conference are urged to arrive in time to take advantage of this pilgrimage.

Here's the plan:

Buses will pick up passengers at the Jefferson Hotel, Conference headquarters, at 10:30 A.M. and drive them to Williamsburg, 50 miles away, in time for lunch at the beautiful Williamsburg Inn.

After lunch, visitors will be taken to the colonial Capitol, Raleigh Tavern, Brush House, Governor's Palace and Bruton Church. Each busload will be accompanied by an escort who will relate the history of the buildings. At

the Capitol, special emphasis will be placed on local governmental procedures of the Eighteenth Century.

The buses will leave Williamsburg for Richmond at 4:30 P.M.

Only expense involved for the sightseers will be \$2.25 for the buffet luncheon at the Inn.

Rooms for the Asking

Make your hotel reservations early for this year's National Conference on Government in Richmond!

Reservation cards will be sent soon to all members of the League. Merely fill them out, indicating the dates and type of room you want, and mail to the Jefferson Hotel, Richmond, Virginia.

Or, you may write directly to the Jefferson, but be sure to mention that you will be attending the National Conference on Government. The earlier you act, the better the chance of obtaining exactly the kind of accommodations you want.

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Suburbia: Its Taxes Ache

For many years we have been getting approximately nowhere in finding a workable solution for the so-called metropolitan area problem.

Why?

The experts have lots of answers, or at least ideas. Maybe the trouble has been that the experts have spent too much time talking to each other about it. Neither this problem nor any other problem is solved until the people at large understand it and want to do something about it.

People in general still know little or nothing about the metropolitan problem. Most of them do not even know there is such a problem. Plain, understandable, direct talk to lots of people, to all the people, without such professional gobbledegook as "conurbation," is what's needed.

Talk, for example, like the following from the July 18 issue of *Business Week*:

SINCE the war, U.S. cities have been bursting at the seams into dormitory-type suburbs. The swarming newcomers have found fresh air and homes—but they have created a very sticky problem in municipal finance.

The trouble is that the new suburbs, especially the fastest-growing ones, have tended largely to small houses on inadequately improved new lots. The little new houses pay very small taxes, but they force the municipalities to heavy spending for new sewers and schools, for more police and fire protection. A case in point: A survey in California's San Mateo County shows that the average subdivision home pays \$90 in school taxes, though it costs \$204 per child just to keep the schools running.

Civic fathers, their heads splitting with these troubles, have tried all sorts of ways to screen newcomers, holding down the ratio of low-tax, high-service developments. Here are some of the gimmicks tried in the New York metropolitan area:

Bedminster, New Jersey, set a five-acre lot minimum that ended low-cost developments. Wayne Township reached the same goal with a minimum size for houses. Mountain Lakes bought up all land parcels large enough to be subdivided; now the town sells a dozen or so lots a year to selected buyers. Livingston tried the harsher method of issuing no residential building permits at all but the courts vetoed that.

In New York State, Scarsdale requires that every new house differ in six important design characteristics from its five nearest neighbors. Sands Point classes large-scale home development as a business, which automatically bars it from residential zones unless an exception is granted. Several other Long Island communities require that builders install paving, sidewalks, water and sewer lines; the rules can be relaxed for "desirable" developments. In one Westchester town a committee named to study the problem threw up its hands with the comment that birth control was the only out.

This last item apart, all these solutions have the common fault of being negative. At best they shove the problem out of one community into another. Looking for a more positive approach, more and more towns are trying to balance low-tax,

high-cost homes with high-tax, low-cost industry.

Many a community has had its fiscal problems solved by the advent of an industrial research laboratory or a headquarters building for a large company. But industrialization cannot be the best answer in the long run, for it has two major drawbacks:

In residential towns, householders often violently oppose any industry—even when it is “clean.” The opposition may be ill-founded and short-sighted, but the householders have the votes.

Town - by - town industrialization may be no answer at all for an entire area. Obviously, some sections will be better adapted to industry, notably in transportation and water supply. Industry will follow this geographical course; trying to fit it

into an artificial political pattern will just make the whole problem worse in the long run.

If the old solutions won’t work, there are two new ones—still very much in the experimental stage—that may:

Fiscal equalization. A uniform tax rate would be set for an entire area; the revenue would be distributed on the basis of need. This principle is well established at the federal and state levels. Its advocates say it can work just as well locally—apart from entrenched municipal politics.

Amalgamation. Small suburbs can be merged with each other politically, or lumped in with the central city. Or special area-wide districts can be set up for specific purposes—centralized school districts, for instance, or regional sewage or water districts.

The City That Saved Itself

Newburgh, New York, selected as an "All-America City," snapped out of its doldrums by action of its citizens.

By JOSEPH PHILLIPS*

NEWBURGH, NEW YORK, did the impossible. It raised the salaries of city employees, improved all services, rid itself of a slum area and got its strangulating traffic problem under control.

On top of that, it wound up its first year under a new efficiency-minded leadership with money left over in the municipal till. Yet taxes were less than before.

This may sound like magic, but it wasn't. "What happened here is so simple," says City Manager Robert P. Aex (pronounced "ax"), "that no one will believe it. You run the city like an efficient business. You forget about patronage and politics."

Newburgh, 250 years old, situated on the Hudson River 67 miles north of Manhattan, was no better or worse than most other cities. It had floundered along with token improvements. The administration couldn't seem to cope with problems.

Newburgh's 32,000 people were governed by a city manager and five-man council, one member being the mayor. Since 1915 the city saw fifteen managers pass through office. The first one was an outsider who lasted only five months. All others were local businessmen.

"By 1950 we were at a complete

*This is the sometime pen name of Joseph P. Blank, who also writes for *Reader's Digest*, *Collier's*, *Nation's Business* and other magazines. Mr. Blank has been a feature writer for newspapers, associate editor at the Funk and Wagnalls Publishing Company, and a historical editor for the Air Force.

standstill," businessman Robert Hinsdale asserted. "Traffic congestion was awful. People weren't paying the proper attention to their homes and stores. There was a feeling that something was wrong, but no one knew what to do."

As Newburgh slid downhill, the cost of running the city spiraled upwards. The budget rose a third between 1948 and 1951. To help finance a high budget in 1950 and an even higher one of \$2,100,000 in 1951, the council slapped the city with a 2 per cent sales tax, figured to bring in \$500,000 a year.

The sales tax alarmed Newburgh and jolted it toward the "Big Change." Nothing spectacular occurred at first—just a mild murmur of discontent. One evening in 1950 a few businessmen met to chat about local conditions. They groused about the tax. Soon, twenty of the city's more influential citizens began meeting regularly. Then they formed a Tax Commission, each member of which pledged that he would not seek political office. The commission wanted only facts, not partisan ammunition.

The facts were hard to come by. The city records turned out to be a confusion of unenlightening, disorganized statistics. "We just couldn't get the answers," said Edward G. O'Neill, counsel for the Tax Commission. "It wasn't a case of public officials hiding the facts. Nobody knew the facts."

As the members of the commission groped for information, the sales tax worked its toll. Business dropped. People from neighboring towns, who used to shop in Newburgh, switched to other cities. Panicky businessmen attempted to beat competition by breaking the law and selling goods without the tax.

"We finally realized that we couldn't change conditions merely by asking questions," said Sam Schoonmaker, a member of the commission and owner of the largest department store in town. "We had to get into politics. We didn't want to, but there was no other way to straighten out the city."

Citizen's Committee Formed

Out of that decision grew a new political party, the Independent Citizen's Committee for Good Local Government. It decided to run a candidate in the council election of November 1950. Frank P. Mahler, war veteran and owner of a busy filling station, agreed to fight the local political machine. Campaigning as an independent, Mahler won a seat on the council. Almost with surprise the Independent Committee realized that the professional politicians could be beaten.

Although Mahler and Mayor Herbert A. Warden didn't have the majority power to make changes, they could ask questions that made other officials uncomfortable. They made an issue out of every expenditure.

Mahler visited other cities to compare appropriations and expenditures. The findings then were given to the public. Standing on the stage of a school auditorium, Mahler pounded home the fact that the Newburgh

City Home and Infirmary operated on a budget of nearly \$200,000 while a comparable institution in a city of larger population cost less than \$90,000. Why? Other cities collected and disposed of a ton of garbage for \$2.00 while the same job cost Newburgh \$4.09. Why? Newburgh was spending \$300,000 a year more than other cities of its size and not getting the same improvements. Why? No answers came from responsible officials.

In 1951, the Independent Committee asked Joseph M. Gaynor, Jr., an insurance agent, to run for the office that would give the efficiency movement majority power in the council.

"I asked friends, business associates and my family what they thought of the offer," Joe Gaynor recalls, "and they were all against it. They said politics would hurt my business and lose me friends. I thought it over and decided I had no choice. If I wasn't satisfied with the way the city was managed, I had to take on some responsibility to see that it changed. So I campaigned and got elected."

The three-man majority in the council ended the sales tax. They went from city department to department and asked each director how much money he needed to do a good job. If the answers to "Why?" were vague, the appropriation was arbitrarily reduced. After this pruning job, the 1952 budget totaled 10 per cent less than the year before.

Then the new administration went out to find a man to carry out its policies. It heard about Bob Aex, then 39 years old, who had been

successively the youngest auditor, treasurer, then comptroller of Rochester, New York. He had a reputation for catching costly errors and locating little items of waste that gradually build up to big losses. The three councilmen asked him to take over the city manager's office in Newburgh.

Aex hesitated; another city had offered him the same post at a higher salary. One day he quietly slipped into Newburgh and spent three days looking around, talking to residents and businessmen.

"I was convinced," he says, "that if ever there was an opportunity to make good government work, it was here." He accepted the job with the understanding that he would have a completely free hand.

New Manager Appointed

On January 2, 1952, Bob Aex took office. He was supported by the council majority and a large group of intelligent, public-spirited citizens. He was opposed by a still active political machine. Rumors had already spread through Newburgh that "outsiders were taking over the city." Residents feared that "efficiency" meant a curtailment of services, while city employees translated it into lay-offs and pay-cuts. Morale suddenly dropped. The three pro-Aex councilmen were cold-shouldered by acquaintances. The so-called smart money in town was laying three to one that Aex wouldn't last 90 days.

Even those who voted for the change viewed the new city manager with suspicion. They didn't know what he might do to their city. They soon found out. Working fifteen

hours a day, sometimes seven days a week, Aex explored each department. He wasn't after economy for the sake of economy. Rather than reduce services, he wanted to improve them, even if it meant spending more money. But he insisted on knowing where the money was going and how efficiently it was being used.

In revising the city's outmoded accounting system, he examined the books and found a \$225,000 surplus from the previous administration and \$300,000 that nobody knew existed. This money, left idle in commercial banks, had incredibly been "lost" by slipshod bookkeeping. Aex invested the surplus in short-term government securities, which netted the city \$4,000 in interest during 1952.

He moved into the police department, sloughed away a lot of non-essential duties, raised pay and shortened work time to 40 hours a week. He told the force to forget politicians. Nobody fixes a traffic ticket. Organized gambling must be stamped out. If any patrolman neglected to report gambling on his beat, he was dismissed.

Aex reorganized the water department, put operations under one supervisor, raised salaries of key people and, by cutting away waste and duplicating jobs, still saved \$3,000 in 1952.

Next, he reviewed the fire department. He raised salaries, shortened working hours and eliminated much of the paper work that took seasoned firemen off essential duties. Convincing that the acting fire chief wasn't the best man for the job, he dismissed him and appointed a depu-

ty in his place. Politicians indignantly cried "politics." But Aex's judgment was sound. In a civil service examination given later, the new appointee scored first on the written tests while the deposed chief flunked.

He tackled Newburgh's bad traffic congestion and parking problem. To Newburghers, prospects for unsnarling traffic congestion seemed hopeless. Anyway, wasn't it tough in other cities? Members of the Tax Commission told Aex: "We thought about recommending a survey by traffic engineers, but that would cost \$10,000. Do you want to spend that?"

Aex didn't. He discovered that the Automobile Club of New York maintained a free engineering staff for traffic problems.

Armed with the recommendations of its survey, Aex swung into action. He prohibited parking on some streets, ordered one-way traffic for others, began a ten-year program to brighten the city with 700 additional street lights and picketed numerous streets with parking meters. Many businessmen yelled about the meters in front of their premises, but Aex never wavered. "Actually, the meters meant more business because it promoted more turnover in a parking space," he explained.

Safer streets and more meters, however, couldn't relieve traffic congestion. "Streets should be used to move traffic, not park cars," Aex pointed out. "The only solution was off-street parking."

The city already had two off-street parking lots, but they were literally empty, uninviting lots. Muggings,

vandalism and thefts had given them bad reputations. Men were afraid to risk their cars in them and women feared personal injury.

Aex revamped the two lots and built two more parking areas. Within a few months the people of Newburgh had four of the most modern parking areas in the state. These were no mere lots. They were graded, black-topped, metered, brilliantly-lit parking zones, police-patrolled 24 hours a day. Before long, these areas were turning over 5,000 cars on a busy day—and that means 5,000 cars off the streets. Not only did the vacant lots materially eliminate traffic congestion but the meters brought the city an additional \$70,000 in revenue.

City Home Improved

In scanning the welfare department from ground-keepers to top administrators Aex discovered that "some food was walking out of the city home, and if all the aspirins purchased were used, it would mean that every patient in the home and infirmary was taking three a day. The situation was rectified," he commented dryly. He saved \$3,835 in the first 90 days' operations. He also ordered that the director be chosen through the merit plan of civil service, making Newburgh the only city in the state to turn this political plum into a civil service appointment.

A brief visit to the city home and infirmary appalled Aex. More than 80 of the 110 residents appeared to have such poor eyes that they could do nothing but sit in a chair all day. He requested eye examinations for them. The report revealed scandal-

ous negligence. Glasses and medical attention enabled most of these people to leave the fog of poor eyesight and one woman, who had been classified as "blind," now reads, watches television and paints. People who previously sat waiting for the next day are busily engaged in recreational and occupational activities.

Aex put the home and infirmary through a hurricane of improvements. He added four registered nurses to the staff, arranged for a dietician to prepare better meals, spent more money on food and raised salaries of key staff members. He ordered a ramp built from the infirmary that enabled wheelchair cases to be moved for the first time into fresh air. He installed curtains in the wards to give patients more privacy.

And what did all these improvements add to the tax burden? The home and infirmary, minus waste and corruption, cost the city \$65,000 less than it did in the previous year.

On every level of city administration Aex buttressed big efficiency changes with little savings. After learning that city purchases had been made by the individual departments, he organized a central agency that opened all purchases to competitive bids. The change-over saved \$1,500 on coal, \$284 on milk for the home and infirmary, \$2,000 on automobiles for the police and fire departments. He also found that the city had been paying high prices for gasoline, oil, tires and other automotive supplies while it could have bought these items under the "wholesale" terms of a state contract. The

switch to state prices saved several more thousand dollars. Although he generally raised the pay of people working for the city, he still saved \$90,000 on the payroll by not filling non-essential vacancies.

Aex created a central janitorial service for municipal buildings, where before each building had its own janitor. That reduced expenses by \$2,359. On a hunch, he called in an expert to check on the method of brewing coffee at the city home. The advice saved \$400 while enabling the home to use a better grade of coffee. Empty office space in municipal buildings was rented for \$1,800. Leaves collected by the department of sanitation were sold to nurserymen for \$2.00 a truck load.

TAXES REDUCED

At the beginning of 1953 the city totted up accounts under the new administration. Although Aex and the council had cut all the fat away from the budget, they had improved the city, expanded all services, slightly reduced the real estate tax rate and still came out of the year with \$85,000 in unspent money.

In recognition of the part that intelligent citizen action played in bringing about these reforms, the National Municipal League named Newburgh as one of eleven municipalities to receive the citation of "All-America City" for 1952.

As inefficiency and waste disappeared, a new spirit overtook the city. Under Aex's example and encouragement, department heads realized they could concentrate on their assignments and not worry about pressure from politicians. Em-

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Cities Resent Stepchild Lot

Survey shows many officials feel urban areas are under-represented and discriminated against in legislatures.

By GORDON E. BAKER*

THE fact that urban areas in all but a handful of states are under-represented in their legislatures is hardly a novel discovery. In 1948 the United States Conference of Mayors estimated that while urbanites comprised 59 per cent of the nation's population and paid 90 per cent of the taxes, they received but 25 per cent of state legislative representation.¹ The only significant change in the intervening five years is that the degree of urbanism has grown to approximately 65 per cent. Clearly, with the passing of time, state legislatures become increasingly unrepresentative.

While certain aspects of state-local relations have in recent years been the object of careful study and publication, little investigation has apparently been made into the effects of a pattern of representation so out of step with the growth of urbanism. Some have suggested that the impact on the operation of municipal government has been distinctly unfavorable.² More specific research, how-

ever, seems needed in this vital but neglected field of general concern.

In an attempt to gain a closer insight into municipal problems arising from a lack of proper representation in the legislatures, the author formulated a short questionnaire and sent copies to mayors and city managers in 200 cities.³ Of the cities polled, 64 answered, though only 58 questionnaires were returned—a fairly good percentage for this type of survey. City executives in 32 states participated.⁴

It must be emphasized that this survey does not attempt to prove too much and that the results should be used with caution. Intensive research in specific fields of state-local relations is needed in a number of

*The survey was undertaken between December 1951 and February 1952. At least one city in each of the 48 states was contacted. The distribution included all municipalities of over 100,000 population (104 cities); the remainder were sent on a flexible standard, varying from state to state according to the degree of urbanism in each. Thus in a highly urbanized state, such as New Jersey, smaller cities (under 100,000) were not generally included. In rural states, such as North Dakota, most cities of consequence were contacted, even though not large by national standards.

¹No replies were received from any city in these sixteen states: Delaware, Florida, Kansas, Kentucky, Louisiana, Nevada, New Mexico, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, Tennessee, Utah, Vermont, West Virginia, Wyoming, Indiana and Maryland. One reason why more replies were not received is probably because a number of individual cities are not under-represented, even in states where that condition exists for other areas.

*Dr. Baker, who secured his Ph.D. at Princeton University a year ago, is an instructor in the Department of Political Science at Santa Barbara College, University of California.

²*Government of the People, by the People, for the People?* Washington, D. C., 1948.

³For instance, see *Ibid.*; Charles M. Kneier, *City Government in the United States*, New York, Harper, 1947, page 128; Richard L. Neuberger, "Our Rotten Borough Legislatures," *Survey*, February, 1950, page 54.

states in order to trace the full impact of urban under-representation upon municipalities. However, there are some advantages to a cursory but at the same time more comprehensive survey. By sampling the more important municipalities on a national basis, certain generalizations emerge which are useful for further and more exhaustive study in any particular area.

Results of the survey are as follows:

Equitable Treatment?

Question 1. Do you feel that your city receives equitable treatment from the legislature as compared with small communities and rural areas of your state?

| Yes | No | Qualified | No Answer |
|-----|----|-----------|-----------|
| 13 | 43 | 1 | 1 |

Aside from financial matters, which will be treated under later categories, the attitudes on this point emphasized the following:

(a) Home rule is either lacking or severely limited. This was a frequent complaint.

(b) The legislature tends to pass special laws affecting adversely the more populous cities.

(c) The legislature takes a negative attitude on such matters as city building codes and traffic safety legislation.

(d) Legislation favors agricultural sellers to the disadvantage of urban consumers. The oleomargarine tax is a common instance. One city manager complained that state regulation of dairy products stressed the farmer's convenience rather than safety for the urban consumer.

(e) The legislature requires cities to provide additional services but

will allot no funds to help carry them out properly.

(f) Rural legislators resist all municipal legislation in general.

(g) The legislature makes it virtually impossible for cities to annex adjoining unincorporated property.

(h) The legislature restricts city expenditure of city revenues.

Question 2. Do rural areas in your state receive a disproportionate share of legislative strength as compared with cities?

| Yes | No | Qualified | No Answer |
|-----|----|-----------|-----------|
| 48 | 8 | 1 | 1 |

Question 3. Do you note any unsympathetic or hostile attitudes from rural legislators toward city problems?

| Yes | No | Qualified | No Answer |
|-----|----|-----------|-----------|
| 47 | 8 | 2 | 1 |

Some replies to this question included short comments that are worth mentioning. A point of special emphasis was summed up by one mayor's answer that rural legislators are "uninterested rather than unsympathetic or hostile, except when rural and urban interests clash." While legislators from the country and small towns may be completely honest and able, it is obviously difficult for many of them to comprehend the magnitude and complexity of some urban functions. "Representatives of rural areas," Mayor Frank Zeidler pointed out, "either fail to understand city problems or are suspicious of the motives of Milwaukee and other urban areas." Whether the causes of friction stem from lack of understanding and interest or from outright hostility, the fact remains that rural legislators in many instances wield a powerful in-

fluence upon municipal problems with which they do not have an intimate acquaintance.

Question 4. Does the attitude of the state governor toward cities differ noticeably from that of the legislature?

| Yes | No | Qualified | No Answer |
|-------------------------|----|-------------------------|-----------|
| 32 | 20 | 3 | 3 |
| <i>More Sympathetic</i> | | <i>Less Sympathetic</i> | |
| 32 | | 0 | |

Question 5. Does the attitude of other state administrative officials differ noticeably from that of the legislature?

| Yes | No | Qualified | No Answer |
|-------------------------|----|-------------------------|-----------|
| 28 | 24 | 3 | 3 |
| <i>More Sympathetic</i> | | <i>Less Sympathetic</i> | |
| 26 | | 2 | |

Attitudes of Officials

Answers to questions four and five tend to confirm the frequent observation that an official responsible to the whole of any given public takes a broader view than a body representing unequally various segments of that public. Thus, most city executives replying felt that the governor and, to a somewhat lesser extent, state administrative officials were more sympathetic to urban problems than was the legislature. The obvious reason, as one city manager expressed it, is that "the executive branch of the government has to be elected by the city vote as well as the rural while the majority of the legislature, by not redistricting, is still elected by the rural vote."

Question 6. Have any unsatisfactory relations with the state government been circumvented or moderated by your city's working directly with agencies of the federal government?

| Yes | No | Qualified | No Answer |
|-----|----|-----------|-----------|
| 7 | 43 | 1 | 7 |

In view of the rapid development in the past two decades of direct municipal-federal relations, affirmative answers to this question comprise a surprisingly low percentage. Several additional answers indicated such relationships, but did not trace these to unsatisfactory state policies. It must be kept in mind, of course, that a number of municipal-federal relations have become institutionalized to such an extent that their origins may be obscured. Thus some city officials may have no actual insight into the reasons why certain city-federal ties arose. The paucity of affirmative responses to this question may also be explained partly by the fact that executives in a number of the largest cities, where relations with federal agencies are most frequent, did not return the questionnaire. Among these are New York, Chicago, Los Angeles, Cleveland, Baltimore, Philadelphia and Pittsburgh.

The most important fields of city-federal relations cited by the affirmative responses are: health and welfare, advance planning for public works, road and expressway construction, civil defense, public housing, rent control. A direct connection between a rural-dominated, unsympathetic state legislature and the necessity for municipal-federal relations was emphasized by Mayor Charles Henderson of Youngstown, Ohio, in these words: "In old age pensions, assistance to hospitals and aid to the local health departments the federal government has aided cities where the state had failed. This is a bad and dangerous tend-

ency, but one brought about entirely by the slowness of the state of Ohio."

Question 7. Do you feel that your municipality receives a fair share of state-distributed services and grants-in-aid?

| Yes | No | Qualified | No Answer |
|-----|----|-----------|-----------|
| 15 | 41 | 0 | 2 |

The main points emphasized here were:

- (a) The state does not maintain the portions of its highways which run through cities.
- (b) State aid for education and highways greatly favors rural sections.
- (c) State aid bears no relationship to need.
- (d) There is an inequitable distribution of state health and welfare funds.
- (e) State and county services generally are on a higher level in unincorporated areas than in cities.

The greatly under-represented city of Hartford, Connecticut, is a good example of two main causes of complaint in this category—education and highway grants. City Manager Carleton F. Sharpe described in detail the formula for distribution of the general state grant for education, which is specifically designed to favor small towns. As a result, Hartford had been receiving annually about \$31 per pupil as compared with up to \$110 per pupil for small communities. Mr. Sharpe added that the highway grants are designed in such a way that some small towns have occasionally found it unnecessary to levy a local property tax, since state aids completely covered their requirements.

W. R. Kellogg, city manager of Cincinnati, Ohio, the largest council-manager city in the nation, concisely summarized the attitudes of most replies in these words: "In the apportionment of all state-shared taxes and allowance of grants-in-aid, the rurally dominated legislature invariably allows the lion's share to the rural communities."

TAX STRUCTURE UNFAIR

Question 8. Do you feel that your state's tax structure discriminates against urban areas in any fashion?

| Yes | No | Qualified | No Answer |
|-----|----|-----------|-----------|
| 42 | 12 | 2 | 2 |

As might be expected this subject was of more concern to city executives than any other covered by the questionnaire. The instances of discrimination and inequality cited were many. Those receiving the most emphasis are as follows:

- (a) Distribution of highway funds from gasoline and auto license fees heavily favors rural areas.
- (b) State property tax is not equalized. Assessments are done by local officials; rural assessors place much lower valuations on property in their districts.
- (c) County property tax structure is extremely inequitable. Municipal areas in the county contribute most of the taxes because of higher assessments; yet the bulk of county services in many instances go to unincorporated areas.
- (d) The state allows either no rebate or an unfairly low share of the sales tax to urban areas, which contribute the most.
- (e) State income tax is derived mainly from cities, but distribution

of benefits is inequitable. One executive pointed out that his state distributes some income tax money on the basis of residence rather than location of earnings. This favors rich suburban areas whose residents earn incomes in the cities.

(f) Assessments on utilities and railroads within cities are inequitable. These businesses are generally exempt from local taxation, yet municipalities receive little or no share of state-collected gross-earnings taxes.

(g) State cigarette and liquor taxes yield small benefits to cities. Most liquor taxes are collected in urban areas, where enforcement of liquor license laws and other policing problems are also far greater.

(h) The state preempts the most lucrative tax sources; thus cities are limited in their fields of revenue, while receiving a small share of locally collected state taxes.

(i) Farm buildings and equipment are exempt from taxation, while no similar privilege is allowed for urban property.

(j) The state legislature refuses to alleviate financial burdens imposed on cities by services they must render to suburban areas.

Several executives gave information on tax policy which would seem to support their contentions that the state discriminates against cities. Here are sample comments:

CITY MANAGER IN TEXAS: Municipalities receive no part of the motor vehicle fees and gasoline tax collected by the state, of which 65 per cent is paid by urban owners whose travel mileage is 90 per cent within the corporate limits of the larger cities. Legislature refuses to allocate any portion of this tax to municipalities.

CITY OFFICIAL IN MINNESOTA: There is no adequate or effective equalization of tax base as between city and rural areas. Special laws provide lower per cent of valuations for tax purposes in rural than in city areas.

CITY ATTORNEY IN GEORGIA: We find that the state tax structure discriminates against urban areas, particularly in the matter of ad valorem taxes on real property. The state currently levies a five-mill tax on real property. In the rural areas, it is frequently the custom for tax authorities to assess the valuation of real estate at a very nominal figure, and to impose a high tax rate, thus assuring the local governments of income while paying little to the state. The urban areas have been more consistent in assessing property at its true value, or at least at a higher proportion of its true value, thus increasing the dollars returned to the state.

MAYOR CHARLES HENDERSON, YOUNGSTOWN, OHIO: Our local government fund, composed chiefly of sales tax receipts, originally was designed to return 40 per cent to local governments on the basis of municipal tax duplicate and 60 per cent to the schools on the basis of pupil attendance. However, since then the formula has deteriorated so that small counties, by having worked into the law a minimum distribution to each county, obtain much more than they would have received under the original formula which seemed to be fair. The schools and rural areas now obtain the lion's share of the sales tax. The cities in the current biennium are to receive \$18,000,000 instead of the original 40 per cent, or \$50,000,000, annually.

Strength in Union

Question 9. Do you maintain active contacts with executives of other urban areas in your state in dealing with the legislature?

| Yes | No | Qualified | No Answer |
|-----|----|-----------|-----------|
| 52 | 5 | 0 | 1 |

While all but a few respondents answered in the affirmative here, the degree of effectiveness from such contacts apparently varies from state to state. All answers from California

mentioned effective work by the League of California Cities. Mayor William F. Devin of Seattle felt that the Association of Washington Cities had largely eliminated the usual rivalry between large and small cities, with the result that they "usually work out their own programs and go before the legislature with a united front." In the absence of adequate urban representation in state legislatures, this movement may be the most promising recent development for surmounting at least some of the adverse effects of rural dominance.

Question 10. Do state legislators representing your city tend to vote as a bloc in regard to legislation affecting the city?

| Yes | No | Qualified | No Answer |
|-----|----|-----------|-----------|
| 33 | 21 | 1 | 3 |

The large number of negative answers here is of special interest. From New Hampshire came the comment that the "main weakness of urban representation is that the city legislators do not usually vote as a bloc, while more conservative (Republican) rural legislators do." A Rhode Island mayor stated that his city's delegates sometimes "forget they represent the city altogether." The frequency of this complaint should help to discount fears often expressed by rural groups that equitable representation in the legislature would result in urban control of the state for a specific, narrow city interest.

Some of the affirmative replies to

this question stressed the futility of urban solidarity when their share of the legislature is especially small. Mayor L. A. Touchae, of Waterloo, Iowa, commented: "Our legislators who represent the larger cities tend to vote as a bloc on legislation affecting the cities, but they are so badly outnumbered, despite the fact that they represent a large section of our state population, that they have been virtually unable to get much done."

Cities Discriminated Against

In conclusion, it is clear that the great majority of city executives participating in this survey felt that urban areas are inadequately represented in state legislatures and that municipalities receive the brunt of discrimination in state policy generally, and in services, grants-in-aid and taxation policy particularly. It should be emphasized once more that information based on the survey is necessarily partial and scattered, and the conclusions must therefore be tentative.

The avenues of approach suggested by the replies, however, can provide a useful starting point for more intensive analysis and research within individual states. The factual information and data supplied by the executives polled, though incomplete, would certainly seem to give strong support to their assertions of discrimination. Taken collectively, the ideas expressed by these city officials add more voices to the chorus of "taxation without representation."

Sixteen Years of Progress

Monroe County (Rochester), New York, largest having the manager plan, sets high fiscal and management standards.

By W. EARL WELLER and CRAIG M. SMITH*

THIS is the story of an urban county, organized on modern lines with the manager plan. Over the last sixteen years, by efficient administration and a pay-as-you-go policy, it has held down the costs of government—except for greatly enlarged expenditures for welfare—to an increase of only 18.6 per cent despite the pressures of inflation and expanding public service.

Monroe County, with over two-thirds of its nearly half million people concentrated in the city of Rochester, became interested in a new charter in 1934, when the county board of supervisors, acting under a state law passed that year, authorized appointment of a commission to draft a special county charter. This commission filed a proposed charter with the clerk of the board on December 29, 1934. While it was under discussion, however, the state legislature adopted the Buckley law (Chapter 948 of the Laws of 1935), the first of a series of optional county government laws.

The Buckley law¹ authorized any

county to adopt one of two alternate plans: one providing an elective county president and the other a county manager appointed by the board of supervisors for a fixed term of four years.

Since a majority of the votes cast in the city and a majority of the votes cast in the towns were required to enact the special charter, while only a majority of all the votes cast were required to accept the provisions of the Buckley law, it was decided to proceed under the county manager provisions of this statute. The referendum was held in November 1935 and the manager plan was adopted by a vote of 33,133 to 19,095. Had the law provided for a majority vote in the city and a majority vote in the towns, the proposition would have been defeated by 113 votes, since the vote in the nineteen towns was 10,224 for county manager government and 10,337 against.

Since the Buckley law could make no change in the status of county officers named in the state constitution, Monroe County still elects its sheriff, district attorney and county clerk. Although this is admittedly an invasion of the manager's domain, particularly in the field of fiscal control, it has caused no friction as yet. In spite of this disunity, operation under the manager plan has led to notable improvements in the structure and operation of the county government.

*Mr. Weller, with the Rochester Bureau of Municipal Research since 1923, became its director in 1928; Mr. Smith, who joined the bureau's staff in 1940, was made assistant director in June of this year.

¹The Buckley law will not be available for adoption after January 1954, having been superseded by the alternate county law adopted in 1952, but it will remain the basis of Monroe County's manager government. See "New County Plans Offered," by Richard A. Atkins, the REVIEW, June 1952, page 288.

Except for creation of the position of county manager and the accompanying realignment of executive authority, adoption of the plan made few immediate changes in administrative organization or in personnel. The incumbents in the formerly elective positions of county treasurer, county purchasing agent and commissioner of public welfare retained office until the end of their terms. Upon the expiration of these terms the positions of purchasing agent and commissioner of public welfare became appointive by the county manager and the county treasurer's duties were taken over by the director of finance. While the dearth of changes detracted from the spectacular features of the new government, the result was to give the incoming manager the opportunity of working with the board of supervisors to devise an organization tailored to the county's specific needs.

Manager Begins Duties

On January 2, 1936, the board of supervisors selected Clarence A. Smith as the first manager and director of finance. Mr. Smith had served the county for almost 35 years, principally as deputy clerk and clerk of the board of supervisors. Inasmuch as the board was the county's acting executive body, its clerk held a position most comparable to a coordinating executive before the advent of the manager plan. In 1934 Mr. Smith had been appointed the first county auditor. His familiarity with county affairs and his experience and tact in coordinating independent county offices have been of immeasurable value to the success of the manager plan. Mr. Smith has

held the position of county manager continuously since his first appointment and is now approaching the mid-point of his fifth term in office.

The first task of the new manager was to reorganize the county administrative machinery in conformance with the provisions of the Buckley law. On January 2, 1936, he proposed to the board that a department of finance be created, incorporating the then independent agencies of audit, purchase and treasury. The department was divided into a division of the treasury, division of budgets and accounts, purchasing division and division of personnel. The auditor's office was abolished and its duties assumed by the division of budgets and accounts. The duties of the county treasurer were assumed eventually by the director of finance.

The new division of personnel was attached to the finance department merely as a staff function of the manager, who also had been appointed director of finance. Opposition to the abolition of the auditor's office and to the reduction of the county treasurer's authority led the board of supervisors to shelve the plan of reorganization until its legality could be determined in the courts. The plan was later put into effect May 2, 1936.

Another change in organization took place at the beginning of the year, when the office of legal advisor was created to replace the county attorney. Later, on April 9, 1936, the park commission and its secretary were replaced by a parks foreman who functioned under the director of public welfare.

The next major departmental reorganization was proposed by the county manager in August 1936 and adopted by the board of supervisors in September. A department of public works, headed by a director, was created to include three separate agencies—division of highways, department of maintenance and construction and the regional planning board. The reorganization was mainly a realignment of responsibility; changes of personnel were few. The former superintendent of highways became the director of public works, while the regional planning board was supplanted by a director of planning, who previously had served as executive secretary to the planning board.

Courts Favorable

Numerous difficulties impeded the operation of the county manager administration in its initial year. The county auditor, holding a position formerly appointive by the board of supervisors, contested the legality of the manager's proposal to abolish his office. It was agreed to submit this and other conflicts to the courts for decision. Pending court action, however, county activity more or less rested in a confused state. Questions of authority arose between the new manager and previously elected officers who were filling out the remainder of their terms. These differences were accentuated by the change in political control which had taken place in the 1935 election. As an example, in order to insure the legality of financial transactions, both the elected county treasurer and the county manager, acting as director of finance, co-signed all checks and financial documents.

In all cases submitted for court review, including one to settle the constitutionality of the Buckley law and thus prevent further legal disputes, the State Supreme Court, affirmed by the State Court of Appeals, gave complete endorsement to the county manager plan and the provisions of the law.

Probably the most notable progress under county manager government has been in the field of financial administration.

Some of the groundwork had already been completed for a county budget system in 1933, when a uniform expenditure classification was made. The first classified budget was adopted at the end of 1933 for the budget year of 1934. From this point the county manager administration has developed an effective budgetary control of county expenditures. Probably a large share of the effectiveness of this system lies in the time and care devoted to determining the manager's budget estimates.

Control of expenditures is based on detailed quarterly allotment schedules within which the departments must operate. Revised fourth-quarter estimates submitted by department heads enable the manager to predetermine any surpluses available at the end of the year.

Another progressive feature of the manager budget has been adoption of the pay-as-you-go principle with the elimination of borrowing.

A forward step in financial administration was the installation of machine accounting in the treasury division early in 1937. The electric accounting machine automatically tabulates, computes and prints all

assessment and tax rolls, prepares tax bills on all property, and is used for tax collection accounting and many other special needs. Its advantages lie in the neatness, accuracy and speed of its work and in the efficiency obtained by using the same master property cards year after year.

Debt Decreases

Under the county manager, debt has shown an orderly decrease. On December 31, 1937, outstanding debt amounted to \$15,030,000. On December 31, 1952, it was \$2,875,000. In 1960 Monroe County will be free of debt.

One of the thorniest problems faced by the county manager administration was the problem of delinquent taxes in over-developed suburban areas. In 1936 the county was forced to advance approximately \$755,000 to four delinquent towns to cover deficits in tax collection for their own purposes. At the same time these towns could pay nothing toward their share of the county tax. The manager's first budget for 1937 included an estimate of unpaid taxes for one and one-half million dollars on a levy which without tax delinquency would have totaled approximately five million dollars. In 1953, because of the county tax foreclosure program, the estimate for unpaid taxes has been reduced to \$225,000.

To meet the problem, the manager in 1936 appointed a citizen advisory committee on tax foreclosure and assigned a counsel and staff to assist. Tax foreclosure proceedings on delinquent property were begun by the committee in October 1936. From that time until July 1, 1953, a total of 11,170 lots and parcels were fore-

closed. Of these, 9,379 were sold for \$4,286,792. In addition, the buyers assumed \$996,756 in future obligations against the property. Tax productivity of this property was increased by the provision in the sale contracts that the buyer must erect a suitable building within a specified period. A total of 5,289 buildings were erected under these contracts, having an estimated tax value of \$30,137,080.

In the department of public welfare, services, following a nationwide trend, have greatly expanded. This is especially true in the categories of old age assistance and child welfare. In March 1938, child placing was moved from the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, a private agency acting in a contractual capacity, to the welfare department. In 1941 a county medical unit was established in the welfare department to provide medical care for old-age and dependent children cases. This step eliminated the fee system for payment of physicians and provided a salaried staff of doctors to furnish medical service.

In 1942 a veterans' service bureau was established as part of the welfare department to assist veterans and their families to obtain their federal and state benefits. Finally, in 1947, the county department took over the administration of all welfare work in the county except home relief in the towns.

Definite progress has also been made in personnel administration. In July 1942, the board of supervisors created a county civil service commission in conformance with state civil service laws. The manager, with approval of the board, appointed

COUNTY APPROPRIATIONS, 1937-1953

| | <i>Current Operation</i> | <i>Welfare</i> | <i>Debt Service</i> | <i>Total</i> |
|------|------------------------------|----------------|-------------------------|--------------|
| 1937 | \$4,910,285 | \$ 3,247,238 | \$2,446,302 | \$10,603,825 |
| 1938 | 4,448,350 | 3,541,659 | 2,553,035 | 10,583,044 |
| 1939 | 4,235,228 | 4,556,263 | 2,273,955 | 11,065,446 |
| 1944 | 4,433,638 | 4,605,270 | 1,184,198 | 10,223,106 |
| 1949 | 6,533,972 | 11,344,696 | 595,978 | 18,474,646 |
| 1953 | 8,344,033 | 12,582,132 | 381,200 | 21,307,365 |

three members to the commission with overlapping terms. A competent executive secretary was selected by the commission. The commission and staff have prepared and adopted a set of rules and regulations and have extended civil service, as required by law, to cover the employees of towns, villages and special districts.

New Classification Plan

In 1944 the Civil Service Commission developed a comprehensive classification and compensation plan for all county personnel. This was adopted by the board of supervisors and became effective January 1, 1945. The compensation plan established minimum and maximum levels of salaries for each group of similar positions and provided for annual increments to be awarded on the basis of merit. The merit of individual employees is determined by service ratings computed from reports submitted by department heads. The classification and compensation plan smoothed out many inequities and provided an equitable basis for granting salary increments.

The trend of county expenditures since the manager plan was adopted has been upward. This is because of general conditions and the fact that the county has taken over the administration of welfare and the city airport. The accompanying table shows current appropriations for various years from 1937 to 1953. Fig-

ures for 1936, the first year of manager government, have been omitted since the 1936 budget was adopted before the manager plan was effective; was not drawn on a pay-as-you-go basis; and required many adjustments to make it conform to the state law under which the county had elected to operate.

The over-all expense of the county has about doubled in seventeen years. It should, however, be noted that welfare expenditures were less than 31 per cent of appropriations in 1937 and over 59 per cent in 1953. Current operation has increased from \$4,910,285 to \$8,344,033, about 70 per cent. This is in spite of the fact that personal services, following well established trends, have increased from \$1,862,173 to \$6,775,600. The decrease in debt service and the decrease in the appropriation for unpaid taxes (not shown separately in the table) have held the over-all increase in county appropriations, exclusive of welfare, to an unbelievable 18.6 per cent.

In summary, it may be said that Monroe County, with its efficient administrative structure and sound financial status, is well equipped to meet the additional burdens which will inevitably be imposed upon it by its spreading population and the centralization in the county government of several functions now performed by the city and towns.

News in Review

City, State and Nation

Edited by H. M. Olmsted

Manager Communities Now Number 1190

45 Cities Added to List During the Current Year

WITH the addition of the twelve cities listed below, the number of cities, towns, villages and counties now using the manager plan has grown to 1,190. The number of adoptions thus far in 1953 is 45.

Ottumwa, Iowa, (1950 population 33,631) voted 4,472 to 3,185 on July 25 to adopt the council-manager plan. A special election was called as a result of a petition circulated by the Citizens League for Council-Manager Government. The question was submitted in accordance with the form established by the last state legislature, effective July 1. Ottumwa has had the commission plan. A new council of five will be elected at large on November 3.

El Centro (12,749), county seat of Imperial County, California, approved a council-manager ordinance 993 to 712 at a special election on June 23. The manager will appoint all employees except the city attorney and the elected clerk and treasurer.

The International City Managers' Association announces the following council-manager plan adoptions since April 1, not previously noted in the REVIEW: **Inkster, Michigan**, (16,728); **Athens, Tennessee**, (8,618); **Emporia, Virginia**, (5,664); **Downington, Pennsylvania**, (4,948); **Otsego, Michigan**, (3,990); **Mexico, Maine**, (3,821); **Jackson, Alabama**, (3,072); **Irving, Texas**, (2,621); **Gaylord, Michigan**, (2,271); and **Warren, Maine**, (1,576).

Springfield, Massachusetts, will vote in November on adoption of council-

manager Plan D, as a result of a petition of nearly 13,000 names, with 9,200 valid signatures needed to insure an election; 10,000 were certified by the election commission, with 2,500 not checked. If the plan is adopted, a council of nine will be elected at large in November 1955. Springfield is one of the few remaining cities with a bicameral legislative body. It has eight aldermen and eighteen councilmen.

In **Haverhill, Massachusetts**, a vote on retention of the manager plan, which became effective in 1952, is expected in November as a result of a petition of 5,209 names filed by Mayor J. L. Willett. If 2,605 valid signatures are certified by the city clerk, the question of changing from the council-manager Plan D to the mayor-commission Plan C will go on the ballot.

The **Massachusetts** legislature has passed and Governor Herter has signed a bill authorizing **Shrewsbury** to adopt the representative form of town government, with a town manager. Introduction of the bill was authorized at a special town meeting.

A proposed council-manager charter for the town of **Wethersfield, Connecticut**, has been approved by the state legislature and is to be placed before the local voters in a referendum.

In **Fulton, New York**, on July 1 the charter commission, appointed in 1951, filed a proposed council-manager charter with the city clerk, as a prerequisite to a referendum on the matter at the November election. If the charter is adopted, a mayor and a council of six will be elected, the mayor to act as seventh member of the council and to preside over it. The council would appoint the manager and certain other officers. The

Oswego *Palladium-Times* commends the action of Fulton to the people of Oswego.

In Geneva, New York, a proposed council-manager charter was defeated 2,213 to 1,102 at a special election on July 29. The charter was submitted in May by a commission, which approved it seven to two. It was actively opposed by the two dissenting commissioners, the mayor and various other officials, and was supported by a citizens committee. It sought to provide for the election of a mayor, six councilmen from wards and two at large (each voter to vote for one of the latter). The mayor would be a member of the council, which would appoint a city manager.

The Waverly, New York, Community Council has established a council-manager fact-finding committee.

In Lockport, New York, the Lock City Republican Club has adopted a resolution asking the common council to call a referendum on adoption of the council-manager plan.

In Ridgewood, New Jersey, a residential village which has had the commission plan since 1911 and has grown to nearly 20,000 population, the three commissioners have hired a director of village operations, who is also village clerk, tax collector and custodian of school funds. He appoints employees and lets contracts up to \$1000, subject to approval of the commission. He has no contract or tenure.

Fayetteville, North Carolina, a manager city since 1949, has voted to elect its mayor directly as such, beginning in 1955. At present the mayor is chosen by the city council from its membership, as recommended by the *Model City Charter* of the National Municipal League.

West Palm Beach, Florida, will vote in October on adoption of a council-manager charter as authorized by the state legislature in June.

A council-manager charter and a civil service act for Opa-Locka, Florida, have been approved by the state legislature and will be submitted to local referendum.

The Pennsylvania legislature has again failed to authorize the council-manager plan for the 47 third-class cities of that state. A bill to permit any such city to adopt the manager plan died in committee, although backed by the State Chamber of Commerce and various other groups. Another bill to permit a city council to create (and abolish) the office of city manager, without other change and without provision for referendum, also failed. It is reported to have been introduced to draw support from the first-named bill, which was opposed by the officials of the League of Third Class Cities. A separate proposal to authorize a council-manager plan for the city of Erie passed the House of Representatives unanimously but was defeated in the Senate.

In Sidney, Ohio, the Junior Chamber of Commerce advocates the manager plan.

The charter commission of Ferguson, Missouri, has announced that it will recommend the council-manager plan.

According to a survey by the Joplin, Missouri, *Southwestern*, 22 out of 31 candidates for the thirteen memberships on that city's charter commission expressed themselves as favoring the council-manager plan. Joplin voted 2,681 to 308 on July 14 in favor of drafting a new charter.

Cape Girardeau, Missouri, defeated a proposed council-manager plan on July 14 by a vote of 2,834 to 2,050.

A Citizens Committee on Better Government of Missoula, Montana, is seeking a referendum on the question of adopting the council-manager plan at the fall election.

In Cheyenne, Wyoming, Mayor R.

E. Cheever favors a vote on adoption of the manager plan at the fall primaries rather than at a special election.

In **San Anselmo, California**, Mayor Fraser Cudworth favors employment of a city manager or administrator and has appointed a committee of three councilmen to study the proposal.

In **Sanger, California**, Mayor L. N. Petersen has appointed a committee of 36 citizens to investigate various forms of city government, as a result of council discussion of the possible need for a city manager.

A referendum election in **Seward, Alaska**, is expected soon on the question of adoption of an ordinance establishing council-manager government. The ordinance was drafted as a result of a petition.

Indianapolis Expansion Aided by Buffer Zone

The Indiana legislature has enacted a law designed to allow Indianapolis to adopt an orderly annexation program and to prevent the growth and development of small incorporated areas around the city. It provides for a three-mile buffer area around Indianapolis in which no new city or town may be incorporated. The status of existing incorporated towns and cities is not affected. In addition, no town or city except Indianapolis within the buffer area may annex any additional territory unless the annexation is approved both by the Indianapolis planning commission and by the county planning commission.

Legislative Councils Increase to 33

With establishment of legislative councils by the 1953 legislatures of four states, the number of these agencies for legislative research, bill-drafting, etc., becomes 33, among the 48 states. In addition, a legislative council for Alaska was established this year.

The creation of the Arizona and Colorado councils was noted in the May REVIEW (page 239). Montana and Tennessee have followed suit. In addition to setting up a legislative council of eleven members, Tennessee also established a permanent code commission and a state judicial conference.

As examples of duties of legislative councils *State Government* reports that Nebraska's unicameral legislature in 1953 assigned thirteen studies to its council, including care of the aged and mentally ill, school redistricting, expenditures and enrollment at the state teachers colleges, coverage of teachers by federal social security, property tax assessments and stream pollution; and the Nevada legislature assigned the following topics to its Legislative Commission: reorganization and consolidation of school districts, the state's libraries, the rules of both legislative houses, uniform hearing procedure for state agencies, sex crimes and operation of the state health department.

Home Rule Made More Feasible in Connecticut

A 1951 requirement that local government charter changes be approved by 51 per cent of a town's qualified voters has been modified to 26 per cent by the Connecticut legislature this year. The former requirement made home rule largely ineffective except at times when a state or national election coincided with a local election.

A requirement that elections on changes initiated by petition be called within 90 days was added.

Connecticut Facilitates Registration and Voting

The Connecticut legislature has passed two acts which ease residence requirements for voting.

One new law is in accord with a recommendation adopted by a recent

conference of the National Institute of Municipal Clerks, which expressed concern over the restrictive provisions of voting residence requirements in many states, especially in regard to presidential and congressional elections. Connecticut will now permit a voter who moves to another state to cast a vote for presidential and vice presidential electors by absentee ballot in Connecticut for a period of fifteen months following his removal from the state, if, in the meantime, he has not been admitted as a voter in the state to which he moved. This provides sufficient time for establishment of eligibility to vote in all but five of the 47 other states. Neighboring Rhode Island and Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi and South Carolina require two years' residence. Other states require residence of one year or less.

Connecticut will also permit a voter who moves from one town to another within the state to retain his voting privilege for municipal elections in the town from which he moved, for a period of six months less a day, in cases in which a municipal election is held at the same time as a state election. Previously, a voter in this category could vote only for state officers. It was therefore necessary, when city and state officers were to be elected at the same election, to set up a separate voting machine in each polling place for use by those who were limited to voting for state officers.

New York State Votes on Nine Amendments

Nine proposed amendments to the constitution of New York State will be submitted to popular vote at the November election. Their subjects are, in brief:

1. Election of governor and lieu-

tenant governor by a single vote, thus insuring that both will be of the same political party. Vacancies in the elective offices of controller and attorney general would be filled by the legislature until expiration of their regular terms.

2. Increase in the governor's salary from \$25,000 to not more than \$50,000, the amount to be set by joint resolution of the Senate and Assembly (not requiring approval by the governor).

3. Increase in the lieutenant governor's salary from \$10,000 to not more than \$20,000, the legislature to set the amount.

4. Prohibition of construction of reservoirs in the Adirondack and Catskill forest preserves except for municipal water supply.

5. Permission for lower court judges in New York City to be temporarily assigned to higher courts to relieve court congestion.

6. Increase in the civil jurisdiction of county courts (outside New York City) from cases involving up to \$3,000 to those up to \$6,000. This is the same limit as now holds for the City Court in New York City.

7. Increase in the real estate tax limit in New York City from 2 per cent to $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of average total full valuation for five years.

8. Authorization of the legislature to permit counties, towns, villages and cities to issue bonds outside present constitutional debt limits, for joint community water-supply purposes.

9. Making minor changes of a liberalizing character as to debt and tax limits.

The Citizens Union of the City of New York favors all amendments except the first, which it asserts would unduly limit the choice of voters as to the lieutenant governor and tend to lower the caliber of candidates for that office.

Florida Legislature Submits Amendments to Vote

The legislature of the state of Florida has submitted proposed constitutional amendments to the voters, at the next general election, which would prohibit use of state funds in the construction and maintenance of toll roads, increase the salaries of legislators to \$1,200 per annum, extend the biennial legislative session from 60 to 90 days and give the governor twenty instead of ten days to sign or veto bills after a legislature adjourns.

Missouri Creates Commission to Study State Government

The Missouri legislature has provided for the appointment of a commission of twelve members to study the government of the state and make recommendations for its improvement. The governor appoints four members and each house of the legislature furnishes four.

Connecticut Approves Two Amendments in Light Vote

With only about 3 per cent of the electorate participating, two constitutional amendments were adopted in Connecticut on June 22, approximately ten to one. Both major political parties favored the amendments, which were of non-controversial character.

The first constitutes a revision of the constitution by incorporating 47 prior amendments into the main body of the document, without other revision. The constitution as revamped had been approved by the legislature.

The second provides that the state treasurer, secretary and controller count the votes for state officers and announce the results prior to December 15 of election years. Heretofore the legislature announced the results upon convening in January; but delay in organizing the legislature meant de-

lay in validating the election of state officers.

Michigan Redistricts for Its Lower House

The 1953 Michigan legislature made a reapportionment for the House of Representatives under a 1952 constitutional amendment.¹

Wayne County (containing Detroit) receives its full allotment of 38 under this measure, or 34.6 per cent of the 110-member House as compared with 27 per cent in the previous House of 100 members, based on the 1940 census.

Twelve other counties have 35 seats, making a total of 73 members from the thirteen more populous counties. Another group of fourteen counties receive single members; this places 87 seats among 27 of Michigan's 83 counties. Eleven two-county districts are established, accounting for eleven more members. Four three-county combinations are provided while three four-county districts are also necessary; each of these areas has a single member. One unit of five counties was created. In two instances districts of several counties were erected from each of which two members are to be chosen at large.

The county boards of supervisors retain the function of internally districting those units which are entitled individually to two or more members. The task of the voter in Detroit is eased materially by the requirement that all members allotted to that city must be chosen from specially created districts to which two or three members only may be assigned by the Wayne County board.

¹See the REVIEW, December 1952, page 562. The amendment sets up a so-called "balanced legislature" with 34 Senate districts permanently established, largely on an area basis. The House was to be districted on a population formula.—Editor.

The districts which are to choose the two members at large from a unit of two or three counties respectively are under attack as violating the principle of single-member districting when each could have been avoided by another adjustment of the district pattern, which in turn would have reduced the number of seats to 108. One more seat was channelled into the Upper Peninsula counties by a peculiarly arranged district which depends upon the almost forgotten doctrine of common water boundaries for its justification; this action of the 1953 legislature seems almost sure to be challenged judicially.

Politically, there is an element of over-all gerrymandering in the new setup since at the outset the Democrats will lose seats, particularly in Wayne County and in Detroit. Over the long run this could work to the advantage of both political parties, paradoxical as this may seem. The present Democratic pre-occupation with Detroit is not necessarily good from the standpoint of ultimate party success. There will be a tendency towards a more urban leavening of the Republican organization as metropolitan residents begin to have some influence in state policy as a collateral result of the abolition of the city-wide election of all representatives within Detroit.

There are those who think that a "balanced legislature" is a do-nothing legislature. Should that prove the case interest in a single chamber will surely rise.

CHARLES W. SHULL

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Ohio Legislature Submits Amendments; Other Acts

One of the final actions of Ohio's 100th General Assembly,¹ which ad-

journed on July 14 after six months of law-making, was to submit for voter approval constitutional amendments calling for four-year terms for members of the legislature and for those executive officers, including the governor, heretofore elected every two years.

For political reasons having to do with the popularity of the present Democratic Governor Frank Lausche, the submission by the Republican-controlled legislature will be made in November 1954. First elections under the change would come in 1958. In political circles it is generally believed that Lausche will be a candidate to succeed himself next year—and if so his reelection is almost a certainty. If reelected he is expected to retire at the end of the term, whether it be two years or four.

The effect of the time schedule thus set up, if approved by the voters, will be to separate state elections, previously held biennially, from the quadrennial presidential campaign. The state auditor, long on a four-year shift, would revert to a two-year term in 1961-62 and back to four years thereafter, so that his election in 1962 would coincide with that of the governor, lieutenant governor, secretary of state, attorney general and treasurer.

The legislature submitted to a vote, in November 1953, four proposed amendments: a \$500,000,000 highway bond issue; elimination of the word "white" from a requirement that all males are eligible for militia duty; deletion of obsolete material from the constitution; and creation of a state board of education, to appoint the state school superintendent.

It failed to act on a request by Cuyahoga County (Cleveland) for submission of a constitutional amendment to allow election of Cuyahoga legislators from subdistricts conforming to congressional district lines. It

¹For financial measures see page 417, this issue.

also failed to act on a bill, eagerly sought by Cincinnati, to permit annexation of unincorporated areas to a municipality without annexing its school districts, and on another bill to grant gas companies the right to condemn land for underground storage of gas.

It adopted bills authorizing the state health department to set up minimum health standards for county institutions, providing a thousand \$500 scholarships to train would-be teachers to relieve the teacher shortage, creating county citizens' committees to reorganize school districts through consolidation, and increasing maximum monthly benefits in aid to the aged from \$60 to \$65 and unemployment insurance maximum weekly benefits from \$28 to \$30.

The House of Representatives also voted to install an automatic roll-call system for use at the next session—an action advocated some twenty years ago.

FOREST FRANK, *Executive Director
City Charter Committee
Cincinnati, Ohio*

Nevada Establishes Merit System

The legislature of Nevada has recently adopted the merit system by creating a state department of personnel, with an advisory personnel commission of five, appointed by the governor.

The act setting up the system contains a section which directs the governor to designate a firm skilled in public administration, finance and personnel management to conduct a survey and furnish recommendations for a classification and pay plan, a rating plan, a system of testing and certification, a set of rules and an examination for use in selecting a personnel director. He has chosen J. L. Jacobs and Company.

All state employees have been placed in the classified civil service except elective officers, department heads, members of boards and commissions, teachers, employees in the office of the governor and certain part-time employees.

The director of personnel is in the classified service excepting that he serves at the pleasure of the governor. A special examining committee appointed by the personnel commission submits nominations and the commission certifies to the governor the three leading names given it by the committee.

Massachusetts Reorganization Affects Three Departments

The 158th Massachusetts General Court (legislature), which adjourned early in July, made several changes in state governmental organization. These included reorganization of two existing departments and of the Port of Boston Authority, and establishment of a new department of commerce and an industrial development corporation. A tendency toward control by commissions instead of single executives was shown.

The Department of Corporations and Taxation is to be generally reorganized, with a three-member commission superseding Commissioner Henry F. Long, head of the department for a generation, upon his reaching the mandatory retirement age of 70 on September 30, 1953.

The Conservation Department has been changed to the Department of Natural Resources, with an unpaid commission of five members having charge of three divisions—forests and parks, marine fisheries and law enforcement. There is also an autonomous division of fisheries and game.

The Port of Boston Authority, heretofore appointed by the governor, will be superseded by an unpaid five-mem-

ber commission to be appointed by the governor from a list of nominees submitted by organizations interested in port development.

The former Planning and Development Commission will be absorbed into the new Department of Commerce, which will have divisions of research, planning and development. A Business Development Corporation has also been established to aid in expansion of industry, especially small business, and to attract new enterprises, with a fund of \$10,000,000 provided from private sources for loans not feasible through normal banking channels.

The Public Buildings Commission is superseded by a division of building construction in the Commission on Administration and Finance.

The Milk Control Board is abolished and a milk control commission is established in the Department of Agriculture.

Some 35 special commissions were set up to make recess studies, including one to redistrict the state for congressional purposes on the basis of the 1950 census, and one to study the state retirement system. The Special Commission on the Structure of the State Government (the "Baby Hoover Commission") will continue its study of state operations. A study of the district court system will also be made, proposals of Governor Herter for its reorganization having failed of adoption.

Legislative Service Conference to Hold Sixth Annual Meeting

Officers of state legislatures and staff directors of legislative councils and similar agencies will attend the sixth annual meeting of the Legislative Service Conference in New Orleans (Roosevelt Hotel) and Baton Rouge, Louisiana, September 28 to October 1.

Congress of Local Authorities Meets

The Eleventh International Congress of Local Authorities, held in Vienna June 15-20, 1953, was the most successful conducted by the International Union of Local Authorities since the Second World War. Over 550 delegates registered from more than 25 countries, with about 250 accompanying persons. Twenty mayors, councilmen and other city officials from the United States attended.

Main theme of the Congress was the large city vs. the small community, their strengths and weaknesses. Reports had been received from more than twenty constituent national unions, which were synthesized and distributed in English, French and German editions, as a printed monograph of 120 pages, prior to the Congress.

Other topics discussed were: municipal finance, led by Mayor Elmer Robinson of San Francisco; the work of national unions of cities, for which the general reporter was Kjell Evers of the Norwegian Union of Cities; and the program of the United Nations and its agencies concerning local government, led by Charles S. Ascher, representative of the Union at the UN, and M. G. deLacharriere of the Social Sciences Department of UNESCO.

Dr. Oud, retiring burgomeister of Rotterdam, was re-elected president; other officers were re-elected, including Colonel Paul Betters, executive director of the U. S. Conference of Mayors. M. Spiney, mayor of Mechlin, Belgium, and Mr. Evers of Norway were added to the executive committee.

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County and Township Edited by Mason Gould

Prince Georges County Given New Authority

But Legislature Removes Power to Appoint Manager

PRINCE Georges County, Maryland, commissioners are operating with a new set of unprecedented powers granted to them by the 1953 legislature.

The act broadens the board's power to an extent its sponsors hope will choke off threatened resurgence of last year's home rule drive. However, a clause in the old law, giving the commissioners the right to appoint a county manager, was eliminated.

Power to enact ordinances covering several specific subjects, as well as to "enact any other ordinance for the safeguard of life, health and property and for the promotion of public safety and moral welfare," is given to the county heads.

The new set of rules gives the commissioners authority somewhat comparable to that vested in the Montgomery County council. In Montgomery County, however, law-making powers are limited to a single one-month session each year whereas in Prince Georges County, the commissioners may pass or rescind ordinances at any time. Also, in Montgomery County the council may repeal or modify existing local laws. No power of this kind is mentioned in the Prince Georges statute.

Among the specific powers granted to Prince Georges heads are the right to establish building, electrical and plumbing codes, and to inspect and license hotels, rooming houses, convalescent homes, day nurseries and trailer camps outside the boundaries

of municipalities; also, the right to set up an insurance fund, designate and control types and kinds of public amusements, control construction and erection of billboards on all roads, provide for trash and garbage removal, establish a ban on use of air rifles or firearms by minors, restrain dogs from running at large, dispose of unlicensed animals, establish a dog pound, appoint dog-tax collectors and fix license fees.

County Administrator Bill Dies in Ohio Senate

A bill permitting the commissioners of any Ohio county of 125,000 or more to appoint a county administrative officer was approved by the state House of Representatives this year, 114 to 6. In the Senate, however, where the bill was amended to apply to Cuyahoga County (Cleveland) only, the proposition died in the Rules Committee.

The proposal was prepared by Cleveland citizen groups, whose previous efforts to secure a home rule charter for Cuyahoga County had been defeated by the villages and towns in the county. A state-approved administrative officer plan was thought the next best solution to the problem of more than a hundred governments in a single county.

The bill was intended to give the position of administrative officer in Cuyahoga County, an office created in 1952 by the county commissioners, the permanence and dignity necessary to its continued success. It was also intended to preclude any possibility of a successful taxpayer suit against the commissioners and to allow other counties to adopt the plan without qualms about legality.

Miami-Dade County Merger Study Group Formed

A board to study consolidation and form a plan for merging city and county governments was created in July by the Miami city commission. The board was authorized to spend up to \$50,000 to conduct the study.

Action of the commission followed by less than a month the rejection by Miami voters of the proposal to abolish the city and consolidate its government with Dade County.¹

The new twenty-man board will have power to call witnesses and take testimony. Whatever plan the board comes up with, according to the resolution adopted by the commission, there must be provision for a referendum to submit the proposal to voters living in the county and in each of the municipalities that may be affected.

The resolution states that a "thorough study" should be made of county government, including the port authority and schools, and of all municipal governments in Dade County, "to determine what consolidation, merger, federation or reorganization" would be desirable.

Cities and Counties Merge Functions

The Shawano, Wisconsin, city and county libraries have been merged and will be operated as a single system under a joint library board.

Hospitals jointly financed and maintained by a county and a city of at least 10,000 population or by a county and two or more cities are authorized under a bill passed by the Texas legislature.

Attracting Industry Seen Aid to School Tax Problem

Commercial and industrial developments in suburban residential areas are being favored as a means of helping

carry the tax burden in supporting public schools, the Municipal Finance Officers Association reports.

A study group in Anne Arundel County, Maryland, has recommended that additional industries be brought into the area to prevent a continuous increase in property tax levies for public education. County services required by industrial or commercial developments are low in cost compared with those required by residential areas, and taxes on these developments could be used to offset the cost of services for a residential area, the study revealed.

In San Mateo County, California, a study showed that the average home in a new subdivision yields less than \$50 annually in taxes for education. The county must spend \$204 to maintain a child in school for a year, excluding capital expenditures or bond costs. A campaign to bring additional industries into the county to help alleviate this problem has been organized by a citizens' association.

City-county Law Enforcement Plan Proposed in Nashville

A city hall reporter of the *Nashville (Tennessee) Banner*, Dick Battle, has come up with a proposal to coordinate city and county law enforcement:

He suggests the following:

1. Uniformed, well selected county patrolmen under civil service; minimum entrance standards matching those of the Nashville police department; Davidson County salaries to match city pay scales.

2. Joint city-county recruit and in-service training programs on a continuous basis, utilizing best trained personnel of both as instructors.

3. A jointly financed local crime laboratory and complete interchange of records, daily bulletins and all essential police information.

4. Coordination of communications so that county and city police may

¹See, the REVIEW, July 1953, page 347.

maintain cooperative efforts without wasteful duplication.

5. Practical definition of jurisdiction and authority and complete elimination of fee-paid law enforcement officers.

6. Staff level conferences monthly including the chief of police, the sheriff, and other top officials of both enforcement agencies.

Consolidated Health Service Favored by Phoenix Group

Consolidation of city and county health services is advisable, according to a preliminary report made by the Phoenix, Arizona, Community Council at the request of city and county officials.

The committee recommends that any consolidated health service be supplied by the county, since the county is charged with the responsibility under state law and there would be conflict between the civil service system of the city and the state merit system used by the county if the city provided the services. Also, the report states, county operation would provide a better basis for other cities in the county to participate in the health service.

The report points out that there would be no immediate dollar savings because of the continued growth of the area and that there seems to be a minimum of duplication of services as now provided by the city and county. However, unification at this time would prevent duplication in the future as the demand for health services increases, says the report.

City-county Building Approved for Augusta

A new city-county government building will be erected soon in Augusta, Georgia. The building will replace antiquated city and county structures now in use.

Financing of the new building will be met jointly by the city and county, but the state and federal governments will be asked to join the project and combine their offices in the same building. The present federal building (with postoffice) has been overcrowded for some time and cannot be expanded because of lack of ground space.

Texas Counties May Pay for Jurors' Meals, Lodging

Many Texas counties have been unwittingly violating the law by paying for jurors' meals and lodging in capital cases, but a bill authorizing them to do so has been passed by the House.

After a recent murder trial in Wichita Falls, the county received a \$544 bill for feeding the jurors. Investigation revealed that an old law, on the books at least since 1920, prohibits counties from paying any more than the regular \$4 daily fee to jurors.

To avoid further complications, Representative J. B. Walling of Wichita Falls introduced the new bill. The issue would arise only in capital cases, in which juries are kept together until conclusion of the trial, often lasting many days.

Westchester County Resumes Internship Program

Westchester County, New York, has resumed the practice of conducting an intensive one-year on-the-job training program in county public administration, previously tried in 1949 and 1950.

This year's two internes were recruited from college students displaying interest in a public administration career. Their salaries will be paid out of budget savings accrued from existing job vacancies in the county.

After a two-week top level course, in which they are given "an over-all picture of relationships between the various county departments," the trainees began actual work on various

assignments in different departments. They will be rotated during the year to tasks designed to test their administrative abilities while adding to their experience.

Says Denton Pearsall, county personnel officer, of the course: "It's an opportunity to interest students in government. At the same time, the county gets the benefit of work they do while in training."

Maryland County Speeds Up Handling of Inquiries

Montgomery County, Maryland, has taken steps to make it easier for citizens to get the information they want at the county offices.

A concise compilation of the functions carried on by each department has been prepared and distributed to all departments. Also, a "keyman" has been designated in each department—one who knows the exact functions being carried on in his department and who is able to tell the citizen "whom to see for what." Each keyman will be known as such to other members of his department, so that queries from citizens can be quickly referred to him.

Three Texas Counties May Increase Officials' Pay

The Texas legislature has passed a bill giving the commissioners court power to increase the pay of officials of Harris, Bexar and Dallas Counties as follows:

District judges, from \$12,000 a year to \$13,500; county judge, from \$10,800 to \$13,500; tax assessor-collector, from unlimited amount (including fees) to \$15,000 maximum; sheriff, district attorney, district and county clerks, from \$10,800 to \$11,800; probate judge, from \$9,600 to \$10,800; judge county courts at law, from \$9,600 to \$10,600; constables and justices of the peace, from \$8,000 to \$8,600; and auditor, from \$10,800 to \$11,800.

North Carolina Tables Plan for Medical Examiner System

Proposed legislation in North Carolina to set up a state medical examiner system failed to be reported out of committee during the 1953 session of the legislature. The bill was sponsored by Dr. Wiley D. Forbus of the Duke University Medical School.

A substitute bill empowering the governor to set up a special committee to study the problem was defeated in the House by a narrow margin.

In Ohio, a bill, sponsored by Coroner S. R. Gerber of Cleveland, to put coroners on a nonpartisan ballot also died in committee.

THE CITY THAT SAVED ITSELF

(Continued from page 386)

ployees lost the attitude that a rise in pay depended on whom they knew. It depended on how well they did their jobs.

The selfish attitude of "what's in it for me?" gave way to the conviction that what's good for the city is good for everybody. Merchants put money into renovations and expansion. They formed a committee to persuade industry to move to the Newburgh area. When Aex proposed a heavy expenditure for a fifth off-street parking zone to benefit the water-front business area, the idea was endorsed by the rival business district of the city.

The transformation in Newburgh's spirit has touched every city official. "The city is alive. It wants to grow," said Councilman Mahler. "People are convinced that we have a future. Those who were once indifferent are trying to do something for the city. They've learned that progress is no brass band going up the main street. It takes people behind the band."

Proportional RepresentationEdited by George H. Hallett, Jr.
and Wm. Redin Woodward(This department is successor to the *Proportional Representation Review*)**Cumulative Voting
in Illinois****System's Results Compared
with Usual District Plan**

EDITOR'S NOTE.—One of the simplest forms of election for which any claim to proportionality can be made is cumulative voting. This plan will give strictly proportional representation to organized groups if they estimate their strength with approximate accuracy and divide their votes accordingly by rearrangement. Otherwise a particular group may elect either more or less than it deserves.

Unlike the Hare System of P. R., the plan makes no pretense of giving the voters a free selection among individual candidates without danger of throwing their votes away.

This paper examines the experience of Illinois with cumulative voting to see how far it has actually given proportional results. Since each district elects only three members to the Illinois House of Representatives, representation is more likely to be confined to the two largest parties than if a larger number of seats were to be distributed in each district. Also, the ease of estimating party strength with sufficient accuracy to get the best results for a party is much greater.

ONE American state has had long experience with one of the electoral remedies proposed to do away with inadequate minority representation. Cumulative voting was adopted in Illinois in 1870 to remedy the sectional representation which appeared in its lower legislative body under the constitution of 1848. Some 100,000 Democratic party voters living north

of the capital city of Springfield were excluded from all voice in making laws through representatives of their own party, while some 55,000 Republican voters living south of this line were similarly excluded from a voice in the legislative assembly.¹

In theory, cumulative voting seemed the answer to this problem of minority representation, for its principal characteristics aim to achieve a fair representation of the minority. Under this system, Illinois was divided into 51 electoral districts, each serving as the basis for the election of one senator and three representatives. Each voter is given three votes which he may distribute in equal or unequal portions among one to three candidates for the House seats in his district. That is, the voter may: (1) cast all three of his votes for a single candidate, (2) give one vote to each of three candidates, (3) divide his votes equally between two candidates giving each a vote and a half, or (4) divide his votes unequally between two candidates giving one vote to one and two votes to a second.²

Under cumulative voting it is numerically possible for an organized minority to win some representation in any district in which it casts 25 per cent plus one of the vote. As an example in round numbers, let us as-

¹This condition of sectional representation is discussed more fully in Chapter I of an unpublished doctoral dissertation entitled *Cumulative Voting in Illinois*, submitted by the author to the Department of Political Science, Northwestern University, in August 1951.

²This division of votes was upheld by the majority decision of the Illinois Supreme Court in the case of *Allen v. Fuller*, 322 Illinois, 304 (1929).

TABLE I

COMPARISON OF POPULAR VOTE AND PARTY REPRESENTATION IN THE ILLINOIS HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, 1940-1952

| Year | Party | Total Vote for Representatives | Per cent of Total Vote | Number Elected | Proportional Number |
|------|-------------|--------------------------------|------------------------|----------------|---------------------|
| 1940 | Republican | 5,837,953 | 50.1 | 79 | 77 |
| | Democratic | 5,817,080 | 49.9 | 74 | 76 |
| 1942 | Republican | 4,565,806 | 54.1 | 84 | 83 |
| | Democratic | 3,877,956 | 45.9 | 69 | 70 |
| 1944 | Republican | 5,594,380 | 50.05 | 79 | 77 |
| | Democratic | 5,575,769 | 49.9 | 74 | 76 |
| | Independent | 4,380 | 0.05 | — | — |
| 1946 | Republican | 5,719,200 | 56.6 | 88 | 87 |
| | Democratic | 4,382,078 | 43.3 | 65 | 66 |
| | Independent | 14,009 | 0.1 | — | — |
| 1948 | Republican | 5,400,876 | 47.7 | 72 | 73 |
| | Democratic | 5,711,105 | 51.5 | 81 | 79 |
| | Progressive | 88,863 | 0.8 | — | 1 |
| 1950 | Republican | 5,673,724 | 54.8 | 84 | 84 |
| | Democratic | 4,673,992 | 45.13 | 69 | 69 |
| | Independent | 4,164 | 0.04 | — | — |
| | Progressive | 2,929 | 0.03 | — | — |
| 1952 | Republican | 6,845,269 | 54.06 | 86 | 83 |
| | Democratic | 5,817,946 | 45.94 | 67 | 70 |

sume an electoral district of 80,001 voters which split along party lines into two groups of 60,000 voters and 20,001 voters. The larger party can be expected to nominate three candidates for the three representative seats while the minority party will be content to support one candidate. With each voter casting three votes, the majority party would cast a total of 180,000 votes for its three candidates and the minority party would cumulate 60,003 votes for its one candidate. This latter total is sufficiently high to assure the minority of winning one of the three representative seats regardless of how majority party voters distribute their votes among its three candidates.

Under the constitution of 1848, Illinois was apportioned into 61 House districts. Four of these districts returned three representatives each, sixteen returned two representatives

each, and 41 districts were single-member districts. This made a total of 85 members in the House of Representatives. The party alignment in the 25th session of the House in 1867 was 60 Republicans and 25 Democrats. No district was represented by members of both parties and the Democrats won only five seats in the 35 districts lying north of the state capital with the Republicans winning only seven seats in the 25 districts lying south of Springfield. With the popular vote cast for a United States congressman-at-large in the same election as a standard of relative party strengths, the proportional party breakdown would have been a 49 to 36 division in the Republicans' favor. Thus, the Republicans with 60 members had an actual representation of 122 per cent of their proportional number of lawmakers in the lower chamber.

TABLE II

COMPARISON OF ACTUAL REPRESENTATION WITH PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION ON THE BASIS OF POPULAR VOTE CAST FOR OFFICE OF STATE TREASURER IN SELECTED SESSIONS OF THE LOWER LEGISLATIVE CHAMBER IN FIVE STATES

| Year | State | Actual House Strengths | | | Proportional House Strengths | | |
|------|-----------|------------------------|-----------------|-------|------------------------------|-----------------|-------|
| | | Repub- lican | Democ- ratic | Other | Repub- lican | Democ- ratic | Other |
| 1929 | Illinois | 91 | 62 | — | 88 | 65 | — |
| | Indiana | 80 | 20 | — | 56 | 44 | — |
| | Iowa | 95 | 13 | — | 72 | 36 | — |
| | Michigan | 98 | 2 | — | 72 | 28 | — |
| | Wisconsin | 89 | 5 | 6 | 70 | 25 | 5 |
| 1939 | Illinois | 79 | 72 | — | 74 | 77 | — |
| | Indiana | 51 | 49 | — | 50 | 50 | — |
| | Iowa | 89 | 19 | — | 58 | 50 | — |
| | Michigan | 73 | 27 | — | 51 | 49 | — |
| | Wisconsin | 53 | 15 | 32 | 48 | 17 | 35 |
| 1949 | Illinois | 72 | 81 | — | 73 | 79 | 1 |
| | Indiana | 40 | 60 | — | 48 | 52 | — |
| | Iowa | 79 | 29 | — | 57 | 51 | — |
| | Michigan | 61 | 39 | — | 50.5 | 49.5 | — |
| | Wisconsin | 74 | 26 | — | 55 | 45 | — |

Representation for Minority

The results of the election of 1872 reflect the immediate effect of cumulative voting on minority representation with the Republican party gaining an 86 to 67 advantage in the lower assembly. Only two of the 51 districts returned three representatives of the same party, 31 districts elected two Republicans and one Democrat, and eighteen districts elected two Democrats and one Republican representative. In the contest for governor in the same election, the Republican vote totaled 237,774 to 197,084 for the Democrats. On the basis of this vote, the proportional party strengths in the House would have been 83 to 70 in the Republican favor—a difference of only three seats from the actual division. Thus, the representation of the Republican party in the 1873 House was only 104 per cent of its proportional strength as compared to 122 per cent in the session of 1867. In addition, the Democrats elected 36 representatives from districts north of the

state capital as compared to five in the 1867 House, while the Republicans gained 23 seats in southern districts as compared to only seven in the earlier session.

A detailed study of the last seven sessions of the Illinois House reveals that cumulative voting has resulted in a close approach to true proportional representation of the two major parties. As shown in Table I, the composition of this chamber is an accurate reflection of relative party strengths as evidenced in total popular votes cast for candidates for these offices in the general election. In this table, the actual number of representatives elected by each of the two major parties is compared with the proportional number that the parties should have elected on the basis of the percentage of total votes cast. The leading party has won only one more seat than it would have gained under a true proportional distribution of the seats in two sessions, two more seats in three sessions, three more seats in

one session and, in the 1951 session, the actual and proportional numbers were exactly the same.

This is a much more accurate reflection of party strengths than has resulted in the composition of the lower assemblies in four nearby states under the single-member district system with plurality voting. Comparative information for the sessions of 1929, 1939 and 1949 in the five states is given in Table II. With the 1949 session as the basis for comparison, this difference is convincingly evident. The actual split in the Illinois House was 81 to 72 in the Democratic favor while the proportional split would have been a 79 to 73 advantage for the Democrats with one seat for the Progressives. In the other selected states, the actual and proportional splits would have been: from a 60 to 40 split in favor of the Democratic party to a 52 to 48 Democratic advantage in the Indiana House; from a 79 to 29 Republican advantage in Iowa to a 57 to 51 split in the Republican favor; in Michigan the 61 to 39 Republican edge would have been a close 50½ to 49½ Republican advantage under a proportional distribution; and the 74 to 26 Republican advantage in Wisconsin would have been a 55 to 45 edge for the Republicans.

With the strength of the leading party as the basis of comparison, the average deflection for the three sessions in the five states is: Illinois, 3.3 members; Indiana, 11 members; Wisconsin, 14.3 members; Michigan, 19.5 members; and Iowa, 25.3 members.

Since adoption of cumulative voting, at least two parties have been represented in every district in every election for members of the lower house in Illinois with but few exceptions. Prior to 1920, there were only six instances in which the three elected representatives were the nominees of one party. Since 1920, a sweep of the

three seats by one party has been attempted 62 times, 45 by the Republicans and seventeen by the Democrats. Successful attempts have occurred on 26 occasions with the Republican party electing the three representatives in nineteen district elections and Democrats in seven district elections. All the occasions of such Republican success occurred in the six elections between 1920 and 1930. Since 1942, the only district returning three members of the same party has been the 27th district in Chicago, in which the Democrats have elected all the representatives in each of the last six biennial elections.

Since 1922 there have been no members of third parties in the Illinois House of Representatives. Prior to that year, however, it was not unusual for third parties to elect an occasional representative. In fact, minor parties had some representation in seventeen of the first 26 sessions of the House of Representatives elected under cumulative voting.

Minor Parties

Opponents of the cumulative voting system point out this absence of representation of minor parties in the House as a weakness of the system in achieving minority representation. An examination of the number of votes cast by minor parties, however, fails to support this criticism. In 1948, eleven candidates of the Progressive party polled 88,863 votes, the highest third party vote since the election of 1920. This was only 0.8 per cent of the total vote cast for state representatives that year, so it cannot be claimed that this party was grossly underrepresented even though its candidates won no representative seats. This non-representation of minor parties helps to establish the authenticity of the assertion already made that cumulative voting does not claim to be

a means of proportional representation, but a system to achieve a just representation of the two big parties.

Neither is non-representation of minor parties limited to Illinois and the system of cumulative voting. In the 1948 election, minor parties were also active in the other four midwestern states selected for comparison in this study but failed to win a single seat in any of them.

The effectiveness of cumulative voting in securing a fair degree of minority representation in the Illinois House of Representatives is convincing upon the basis of this study. The party composition in the first House elected under cumulative voting was far more reflective of relative party strengths than was the composition of this chamber before its adoption. The composition in the House has continued to be much more reflective of relative party strengths than has the party membership in the Senate, and the composition in the last seven House sessions has closely approached a true proportional distribution of seats in this assembly. Likewise, the Illinois House is more reflective of party strengths than are the lower assemblies in four selected midwestern states not using this electoral device. Thus, cumulative voting has functioned to achieve its purpose of a fair representation of the minority party in the lower legislative assembly in Illinois.

GEORGE S. BLAIR
University of Pennsylvania

New Danish Constitution in Effect

The new Danish constitution, ratified by referendum on May 28 and signed by King Frederick IX on June 5, Denmark's Constitution Day, provides for a single-house parliament to be named the Folketing. Its membership will be elected by a list sys-

tem of P.R., as has been the lower house of previous parliaments since 1915. The upper house has been elected by the single transferable vote form of P.R. by electors chosen popularly by the list system.

The 179 members of the new body will be elected shortly, probably September 22, according to a report from the Danish Information Office in New York.

The new constitution changes the rule of succession to the throne of Denmark by making women eligible, lowers the voting age from 25 to 23 years (an alternative proposal to make it 21 years was rejected), formalizes the rule requiring resignation of government ministers upon no-confidence votes and permitting a dismissed government to cause the holding of a parliamentary election, and provides also for submission of bills passed by Parliament to a referendum vote upon request of one-third of the membership of Parliament, with the result that the bill may be defeated if a majority of the votes cast, constituting at least 30 per cent of those eligible to vote, are opposed to the measure.

J. Henry Scattergood, P. R. League Trustee

The Proportional Representation League lost one of its oldest and most devoted and helpful members in the death of J. Henry Scattergood of Philadelphia and Villa Nova, Pennsylvania, on June 19. He had been one of the League's seven trustees since its incorporation in 1921 and before that a council member of the unincorporated American Proportional Representation League at least since 1914.

Mr. Scattergood was a prominent Quaker and industrialist and P.R. was only one of many public interests to which he gave attention and leader-

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Taxation and Finance *Edited by Wade S. Smith*

Tight Money Policy Hits Local Borrowers

Rising Interest Costs Delay Some Projects

OCAL officials charged with the responsibility of handling financing of improvement programs found conditions in the summer of 1953 to be the most chaotic they had faced since the period of financial unsettledment in the depression of the 1930s. Local borrowing costs, caught between the millstones of mounting state-local borrowing and a federal "tight money" policy, reached a twenty-year high late in June.

Communities with well established and satisfactory credit reputations contracted to pay interest rates higher than they had been forced to accept for nearly a generation. Many others rejected bids on bond offerings and a few temporarily abandoned plans to proceed with construction. Late in June, the Federal Reserve Board took action reversing, at least temporarily, the upward trend of borrowing costs, and in July and early August cities and other local units found borrowing conditions slightly easier.

State and local borrowing costs had begun to rise gradually late in the spring of 1952, it will be recalled, when it became evident that new bond sales of the local units were headed for record levels. The index of yield on twenty representative municipal bonds, compiled by *The Daily Bond Buyer*, after dipping from 2.11 per cent in January 1952 to 2.03 per cent in early May, rose gradually to 2.37 per cent by mid-December.

With the inauguration of the new federal administration and the an-

nouncement by the new secretary of the treasury of a policy of funding the federal debt into long-term bonds at a "going" interest rate, the municipal market became more unsettled and, by the latter part of March 1953, the twenty-bond index of yield was up to 2.65 per cent. On April 8, 1953, the U.S. treasury formally announced the terms of the first bond offering of the new administration, to refund part of the large maturity due April 15. The new bonds were 3½s, due in 1983.

Not only was the rate on the new 30-year federal bonds the highest in twenty years, but the offering also was accompanied by restrictions on trading and on the allocation of bonds to subscribers, which had the immediate effect of carrying the new issue below par in the government bond market. The consequent readjustment in yields on outstanding federal bond and note issues kept the money market in a turmoil for more than two months. Losses on outstanding federal bonds were enormous; corporate financing for a time came nearly to a halt; and the market for municipal bonds staggered under one of the sharpest price readjustments since the panic of the early 1930s. By the beginning of the last week in June, the twenty-bond index of municipals was up to 3.09 per cent—a rise of 50 per cent from the May 1952 level.

As the federal fiscal year, which ends June 30, drew to a close, it became evident that the federal government's 1952-53 deficit would greatly exceed earlier forecasts and that there would be a continuing need for new borrowing by the treasury, rendering inopportune for some months a continuation of the "tight money" policy of refunding federal debt into long-term, high coupon bonds.

The sign that the realities of the situation had been accepted in Washington was given June 24, when the Federal Reserve Board announced a reduction in reserve requirements for all member banks. The reduction in reserves, which became effective on staggered dates early in July, had the effect of increasing bank credit by nearly six billions of dollars, or just enough to absorb the July treasury calls on banks for payments of federal funds held on deposit. With notice served that the "tight money" policy was not to be further pursued, for a time at least, order was gradually restored in the money market and the cost of municipal borrowing eased off somewhat. The twenty-bond index of yield went down to 3.04 per cent the first week in July and by early August was down to 2.92 per cent.

The trend of the index fails to reveal the full severity of conditions faced by the majority of local units which came into the market with new bond issues in June, however. The index is based on well known state and local borrowers for whose bonds a reasonably active market exists, and whose credit ranks generally at the upper level. Infrequent borrowers and lesser known communities, which even under normal conditions must expect to pay more for the use of money than the well regarded communities, had rough sledding. In the week or two prior to the Federal Reserve Board announcement, net interest costs above 4 per cent became numerous, and in one two-day period at least twenty local units are known to have either rejected the bids they received or to have received no bids at all on their offerings.

New York City Gets Fifteen-cent Transit Fare

New York City transit riders, whose subway and municipal bus system was

taken over by a semi-autonomous authority in June pursuant to state legislation which made new revenues contingent on such an arrangement, took a fare increase in stride in mid-July, paying a flat 15 cents per trip compared with the ten cents formerly extracted. Transfer privileges were unchanged.

Subway turnstiles had to be altered to accept tokens instead of dimes, to effect the change-over to the new fare, and millions of new tokens had to be manufactured and delivered before riders on the subways could pass through the turnstiles. (Buses accepted dimes and nickels rather than tokens.) The tokens poured into Transit Authority warehouses on what was expected to be a tight schedule, and were placed on sale the week before the fare rise, first on a two-to-a-customer basis, and then on a five-to-a-customer basis. Advance sales lagged behind expectations, and by the end of the first week unlimited sales were being made. The necessity of buying "tickets" for the subways resulted in long lines at change booths in a few stations, but by and large passengers had adapted themselves to the new routine within a few days. For the first two weeks, the decline in traffic reportedly was considerably less than the 11 per cent or so anticipated on the basis of the traffic drop following abolition of the five-cent fare in 1948.

West Virginia Court Voids State Budget

A legislative conflict over the 1953-54 West Virginia state budget resulted in the budget's being declared unconstitutional by the State Supreme Court and the calling of a special legislative session in June to reenact the budget, before July 1, the beginning of the new fiscal year.

At the regular session the legisla-

re had refused to accept the budgetary recommendations of the Board of Public Works, including its revenue estimates, and passed a budget bill with larger appropriations. The board charged by the state constitution with the formulation of the budget, based upon its estimate of receipts, and the legislature is prohibited from amending "the budget bill so as to create a deficit, but may amend the bill by increasing or diminishing the items therein relating to the legislature, and by increasing the items there- relating to the judiciary but, except as hereinbefore specified, may not alter the said bill except to strike out or reduce items therein." (Constitution, article VI, Section 51, Sub-section B.)

When the bill was challenged in the state Supreme Court (*West Virginia ex rel. Trent v. Sims*, May 18, 1953) the opinion referred to the clause quoted above as the "heart" of the budget provision. The entire budget act was declared unconstitutional not only because it created a deficit when judged by the board's estimate of receipts rather than the legislature's estimate but also because of numerous increases made by the legislature in specific items. Such increases were held possible only with the approval of the board.

The legislature was called in special session June 4 to enact a budget before the beginning of the new fiscal year. A compromise budget prepared by legislative leaders and the board was accepted in a one-day session. Some legislative leaders acknowledged that they knew the earlier bill was unconstitutional at the time of passage, but the desire to adjourn before the end of the 60-day limitation on the session was responsible for their action.

PAUL D. STEWART

Marshall College
Huntington, West Virginia

Court Voids Arizona Revenue Department Act

An act of the state legislature creating a new Department of Finance for Arizona was ruled unconstitutional by the State Supreme Court in an oral decision handed down in July. The decision was rendered on a petition for a writ of mandamus to compel the state treasurer to issue his warrant in payment of a vendor's bill. The state treasurer had refused payment, on the ground the claim had not been approved by the new commissioner of finance.

The court held the entire finance department act was "unconstitutional and void in its entirety." While the written decision has not yet been filed, it appears possible that the act's defect lay in its attempt to subordinate the state auditor and state treasurer—both constitutional officers—to the new department.

PAUL KELSO
University of Arizona

Ohio Legislature Adopts Highway Financing Program

To most Ohioans the most important—and certainly the most controversial—action taken by the 1953 legislature¹ was adoption of a highway financing program. This provides for a one-cent increase in the state gasoline tax (raising the total tax to seven cents) and a new highway use tax to be collected from truckers. Bases for the new tax are the number of axles in each vehicle and the number of miles of state highways used for trucking purposes.

The axle tax represents a compromise from the original ton-mile tax on trucks proposed by the governor last January. Inasmuch as the ton-

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¹For information on further action, see page 403, this issue.

Citizen Action *Edited by Elsie S. Parker*

Greater Boston Council Studies Area Problems

Seeks to Appraise Needs of Metropolitan Community

THE Greater Boston Area Council is a voluntary organization whose aim and object is to study the needs of the community of 43 municipalities, of which Boston proper is the center, and to seek solutions for the common problems of this community. It is composed of representative citizens from each municipality in numbers roughly proportionate to population. Boston, however, is not allowed more than 10 per cent of the total number.

The council is actively engaged in research and study, through the agency of several very strong committees. Already the Committee on Regional Planning has submitted a report which has been received and studied by the governor and has met with his approval.

The council is studying the structure and usefulness of the present Metropolitan District Commission, bearing on possible future development of this body into an agency of government deriving the authority from the people whom it serves rather than, as now, from the state.

It is not the purpose nor the philosophy of the council to seek annexation of any suburb to Boston. On the contrary, it seems wiser that each town and city should preserve and maintain its own independence in matters pertaining to it, but that it should, nevertheless, join with its neighbors to set up a common agency to take care of those governmental activities that

lie outside the jurisdiction of any single municipality.

The character of the problems which face any such metropolitan community is various; included are such common concerns as water supply, sewage and drainage, refuse disposal, inter-municipal traffic arteries and transportation of all kinds, fire-fighting cooperation, police cooperation, regional educational and cultural facilities, such as public library service, parks, and symphonic and operatic entertainment.

The council asks for no powers of any kind. When it has adequately appraised the needs of the metropolitan community it will present its findings, with recommendations for procedure to achieve the solution of the problems. It will choose an issue that seems vital at the time, and work hard to have it receive legislative action. If successful in promoting one such improvement, it will select another and make a drive to secure its approval and execution. Eventually it may quite naturally reach the point where it has won the confidence of the citizens and has come to be regarded as the most useful agent through which the many individual towns and cities can accomplish their common projects.

The council is already breaking down barriers that have existed between town and town, and helping the delegates to become acquainted not only with each other but with the ways in which they need each other's assistance.

At present the 2,000,000 inhabitants of this community are divided into 45 separate governmental compartments, with no method of cooperating. Chaos may be said to reign. The unfortunate

citizens may be and usually are pulling in 45 different directions. Each is trying to get the advantage of its neighbor. The council proposes to help these groups to work in parallel instead of at cross purposes.

The whole idea is very simple, very fundamental, and very much in order at the present time.

W. R. GREELEY, *Chairman*
Greater Boston Area Council

Oklahoma, Alabama First to Get Educational TV

Oklahoma is the first state to pass a law providing an educational television system, reports *Educational Television News*, of the National Citizens Committee for Educational Television, Washington, D. C. "Oklahoma, often called the Sooner State," according to the *News*, "preceded this nation-wide first with two others in the same field. It was the first to petition the FCC to set aside educational channels. Mr. Murray was the first governor to call a statewide conference on educational television."

The second state to act is Alabama, where the legislature has passed a bill providing \$500,000 to put the state's first educational television station into operation and to help establish a statewide educational TV network. The state has educational TV channel reservations at Auburn, Birmingham, Mobile, Montgomery and at the University of Alabama.

As of June 2, 47 communities had applied for noncommercial licenses and many more were in the final stages of preparation, reports the Citizens Committee. Seventeen applications had been granted, 30 were under consideration. The committee emphasizes the fact that while June 2 marked the end of a period during which the FCC would not entertain petitions to change educational channels to commercials, according to the FCC,

"reservations of TV channels for non-commercial use . . . continue indefinitely. . . . The significance of the June 2 date is that the commission will thereafter give consideration to any petitions which it may receive to make changes in channel assignments in individual localities. This applies to commercial as well as educational assignments."

A number of cities expect to have their educational television plans in operation by fall, including St. Louis, Los Angeles, San Francisco and Seattle. Houston is already operating—the first city to get started.

Recent publications on educational TV include:

Television in Our Schools (34 pages), by Franklin Dunham and Ronald R. Lowdermilk, published by the Office of Education, Federal Security Agency, Washington, D. C.

Pros and Cons of Proposed California Educational Television—Desirable? Financially Feasible? Control? Protection Against Propaganda and Subversion? (32 pages). Report of the Radio and Television Section of the Commonwealth Club, San Francisco.

A Program for Educational Television in New Jersey (15 pages), issued by the New Jersey Commission on Educational Television, Trenton.

Educational TV—A Special Report (eight pages), published by the Washington State Taxpayers Association, Olympia.

Rhode Island Group Holds Second Home Rule Conference

At its second annual conference this spring, the Rhode Island Home Rule Association went on record, unanimously, for a constitutional convention to clarify the powers of Rhode Island cities and towns under the home rule amendment adopted in 1951. Also adopted was a resolution urging passage of:

"1. Specific legislation validating the charters of the four cities—Pawtucket, Woonsocket, Central Falls and Newport—which already have adopted home rule charters. [Doubt had been cast on the validity of the election provisions of these charters by an advisory opinion of the Supreme Court. In this connection the Home Rule Association issued a paper, *The Legal Aspects of Municipal Elections under Home Rule Charters*.]

"2. A general enabling act authorizing any city or town adopting a home rule charter to set up its own election procedures."

Governor Roberts, who addressed the conference, said he "heartily endorsed the idea of a constitutional convention." Others who spoke included Mrs. Martha Lindegren, then secretary of the Citizens' Plan E Association of Worcester; Robert J. M. O'Hare, executive secretary of the Citizens League of Pawtucket; and John E. Bebout, assistant director of the National Municipal League.

Civic Awards

The first "Good Government" award presented by the Richmond First Club went to Sherwood Reeder, city manager of Richmond, Virginia. The Richmond First Club, created in 1919, is generally credited with having spearheaded the council-manager movement in its city. Its award is made "to that citizen of Richmond or vicinity who shall be adjudged as having made an outstanding contribution to the cause of good municipal government in Richmond during the previous calendar year." In speaking of the award in his broadcast of June 12, the day before he died, Dr. Douglas Southall Freeman, editor of the Richmond *News-Leader*, commented: "We are very fortunate in having a man of Mr. Reeder's equipment and temperament in our city government. He

has been here since 1948 and he has done magnificently."

Six articles on citizen action, appearing during 1952 in *The American Weekly*, a syndicated magazine distributed over the country with many Sunday newspapers, have been chosen for awards by The Freedom Foundation. They are: "What America Means to Me," by Samuel Goldwyn; "Don't Take Freedom for Granted," by Peter Pirogov; "Are You a Good Citizen," by former Governor of New Jersey Charles Edison; "Let's Stop Fooling Ourselves," by Captain Eddie Rickenbacker; "A Beacon for All to See," by Commander Walter G. Winslow, USN; and "You Are the Voice of America," by Kate Smith. The articles have been reproduced in a most attractive pamphlet, decorated in gold, with a cover of the same color.

Adult Education News

The Third National Conference of the Adult Education Association of the U.S.A. will meet October 26-29 at the Hotel New Yorker, New York City. Its theme is "Working Together in Performing the Responsibilities of Citizenship."

The Fund for Adult Education, an "independent organization established by the Ford Foundation," has announced its program of study grants in adult education. The fund is offering approximately a hundred awards for "academic study, supervised field experience, or combinations of the two for the improvement and advancement of persons concerned with the liberal or general education of adults." The awards will be made by a National Committee on Study Grants appointed by the fund to plan and administer the program. Its address is 141 West Jackson Boulevard, Chicago 4.

The May issue of *Adult Leadership*, published by the Adult Education Association of the U.S.A., 743 North

Wabash Avenue, Chicago 11, is devoted to conferences that work; that for June discusses leadership training.

Culture in Canada, a Study of the Findings of the Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences (1949-1951), edited by Albert A. Shea, has been published by the Canadian Association for Adult Education (143 Bloor Street West, Toronto).

Describes Local Governments

The *News Bulletin* of the Citizens League of Greater Minneapolis for June 23 is devoted in large part to a description of the city's new city council of thirteen members and their duties; that for July 24 does the same for the Hennepin County Board of Commissioners.

Managing New York

The League of Women Voters of the City of New York has published *Modern Management for the City of New York*, based on the Report of the Mayor's Committee on Management Survey, "as a public service." Twelve pages, it is priced at 25 cents.

The New York Chamber of Commerce has an eight-page folder, *We Face a Crisis*, which lists the serious problems the city has before it—financial, transit, schools, housing and many others.

Report on the Legislature

During the spring and early summer, the legislative committee of the Civic Club of Allegheny County (Pittsburgh) made printed reports to members of the club on what it deemed important bills before the state legislature. Proposals were labelled "in the public interest" or "not in the public interest," as committee members decided.

Facts for Voter

A Connecticut Voter Needs These Facts is the title of a six-page folder published by the Institute of Public Service of the University of Connecticut. "Your lifeline to political freedom is your VOTE," comments the leaflet, which goes on to describe an eligible voter in a town, borough or city; what to do if you move; how to vote by voting machine; etc.

Gets 500 New Members

More than 500 persons joined the Citizens League of Cleveland during its 1953 annual membership campaign, reports *Greater Cleveland*, its bulletin. The combined membership of the League and its Bureau of Governmental Research was 3,701 on the final day of the campaign, the largest at any time since the mid-1920s.

Tax System for New Jersey

A Modern Tax System for New Jersey (eight pages) is a publication of the New Jersey Citizens Tax Study Foundation which points out that although New Jersey "has grown into a major industrial and agricultural state there has been little basic change in its tax structure."

Citizens of Greater Chicago

The first annual meeting of this newly organized citizen group was held in February. Discussed were such subjects as Modernizing Chicago's Government, Problems of Senatorial Reapportionment, Crime and Law Enforcement, New Judicial Article, Criminal Code, Chicago's Finance Problems of the Future. The group has published its *By-laws* in a small, compact sixteen-page pamphlet, a small brochure on the *Significance of Senatorial District Reapportionment*, and a *Fact Book* of sixteen pages, citing the setup, objectives, possibilities, plan, method, responsibilities and history of the organization.

Citizens Win Bond Fight

"A knock-out, drag-out fight," is the apt description of the Citizens League of Pawtucket campaign to defeat the funding of a \$1,000,000 tax note and some \$375,000 in unpaid back bills, according to Robert J. M. O'Hare, executive secretary of the league. The citizen group, backed by the Republican and Independent parties and the League of Women Voters, won, first by 505 votes. On a recount in four out of twelve polling places, however, the majority increased to 1,264 votes. Volunteers for the organization distributed 15,000 handbills and more than 200 of them worked all day outside the polls.

Strictly Personal

Myron Law, a business official, has succeeded Ben B. Ehrlichman, a member of the council of the National Municipal League, as president of the Municipal League of Seattle and King County.

L. E. "Duke" Marlowe, member of the League's Council and chairman of the local arrangements committee for this year's National Conference on Government in Richmond, Virginia, has been elected president of the Richmond First Club, a nonpartisan civic organization of business and professional men. Mr. Marlowe, as president of the Richmond Citizens Association, played an important role in the civic revival in that city a few years ago.

The Citizens Charter Committee of Hartford, Connecticut, has elected John C. Parsons, a member of the city's pension commission, as its chairman. Mr. Parsons succeeds Howard Goodwin, a vice president of the Phoenix Mutual Life Insurance Company.

TAXATION AND FINANCE

(Continued from page 417)

mile tax had been expected to raise \$27,000,000 a year while the most optimistic estimates on the unknown axle-

tax finally adopted are \$20,000,000, trucking lobbyists are viewed as having salvaged an appreciable something for their clients.

From the standpoint of the urban areas, the results of the legislative debate still remain to be proved. Ohio's major highway need has been modern arterials between the cities where the heavy traffic flows. Existing revenue sources have been woefully insufficient for major interurban road purposes. By contrast, the state's secondary road system is immeasurably better than its primary highways, which throughout the state are studed with death traps and time-consuming bottle-necks.

Even so, the rural-dominated legislature, instead of devoting virtually all the prospective revenue from the new program to the building of arterials, took out \$12,000,000 for the secondary roads—no doubt to assure that these would become better than ever!

Another result of the Assembly session disappointing to urban areas has been legislative unwillingness to return more of the city-originating sales tax revenue for municipal government purposes. Although officials from every city not as yet imposing a payroll or income tax pleaded with the legislators for an increase over the paltry sums previously returned by the state out of its sales tax collections, the actual increase voted amounted to an amazing \$300,000 annually for the next two years. This, against \$9,700,000 allotted last year, for example, represents not quite 3 per cent!

As a result, a city like Cincinnati, which has been paying into the state coffers \$20,000,000 in sales tax receipts every year, next year will get back for its municipal government needs approximately \$1,400,000—or about 7 per cent.

FOREST FRANK, *Executive Director*
City Charter Committee
Cincinnati, Ohio

Researcher's Digest *Edited by John E. Bebout*

Study of Natural Resources Growing

Subject Needs Attention at All Levels of Government

INTEREST in problems of natural resources conservation and development, measured in terms of attention in the press and public discussion generally, reached its peak in this century during Theodore Roosevelt's terms in the White House and the days of the Ballinger-Pinchot controversy. Another peak came during the early and mid-thirties with the drought and because of specific New Deal legislation. Otherwise, natural resources have been relegated to the back shelf as a national issue, except when catastrophes such as major floods have briefly jarred the nation.

Many social scientists and other students of public affairs, however, are becoming more concerned with resource problems, and study seems to be increasing. Professor Vincent Ostrom, of the University of Oregon, has written a thoughtful article, "The Social Scientist and the Control and Development of Natural Resources" (*Land Economics*, May 1953), in which he examines the intricate problems of policy-making in this field. He looks at the increasing amount of research by social scientists and concludes that they "have important contributions to make to research in problems of natural resources administration as efforts to control the physical environment to serve human needs and purposes."

In the states west of the hundredth meridian and in localized areas in the eastern half of the nation, natural resources are continuously "hot" is-

sues. Official and public concern will increase everywhere if the mid- and southwestern drought continues and as shortages of oil, copper, power and other key resources are heightened by the maintenance of defense programs at a high pitch and by the general increase in population and standards of living. These problems will more and more be recognized as fields where all levels of government must work hand in hand.

The Bureau of Government Research (now the Government Research Center) of the University of Kansas, has prepared *A Comparative Study for Watershed Legislation* (Lawrence, 1952) for the Kansas State Chamber of Commerce as a background to a campaign for passage of flood control and land use legislation in that state. The report recognizes that the boundaries of any special water districts to be created should coincide with "natural drainage areas"—areas which in most cases can be closely demarcated by hydrological and surveying techniques.

The *Report of the Nebraska Legislative Council Committee on Watershed Legislation* (Lincoln, August 1952) makes clear the difficulty established units of local government have in handling drainage and other conservation problems which run, willy-nilly, across their boundaries. "The watershed or drainage area is the natural unit to be used in seeking a solution, and no one of these units of government corresponds in area to any existing watershed or watersheds. . . . What is needed . . . is a new governmental subdivision, based upon the watershed or natural area of water control, with power to initiate a coordinated program which will attack all segments of the problem." Here, in the case of

water is a crystal-clear example of the inadequacies of outmoded units of government to handle present-day problems.

The Nebraska and Kansas reports investigate fairly thoroughly the special district device as a means of giving local people a voice in resource management, but neither report shows much awareness of the problem of too many units of government, a problem any additional units complicate in some degree. A new watershed district only stretches wider the "span of attention" of the citizen there.

Little watersheds combine into big watersheds, of course, so that local units and some states are unable to finance or cope physically with mainstream problems. For twenty years the Tennessee Valley Authority has been the world's outstanding instance of an organization fitted exactly to a great drainage area. On the other hand, few Americans are enough aware of the intergovernmental negotiations that have been under way in the Missouri River and Columbia River basins in recent years.

Governmental Cooperation

Since 1945, in the case of the Missouri River Basin, a degree of cooperation has developed between local, state and national agencies which some critics believe holds interesting possibilities for the future of federalism in the field of resource development and conservation. There the terrible floods in the lower basin and the lack of water in the upper basin have produced more concern over these problems than exists in other parts of the nation.

The Missouri Basin Inter-Agency Committee, a joint enterprise of the ten Missouri Basin states and the five major national resource agencies, issues minutes of bi-monthly meetings where specific soil, mineral, water and

power problems receive attention. Frequently these minutes contain data and commentary which are quite valuable, and subcommittees make periodic reports noteworthy for the light they throw on special problems.

For example, Appendix B to the *Minutes of the Sixty-Fifth Meeting of the Missouri Basin Inter-Agency Committee* (Billings, Montana, U. S. Department of the Interior Field Committee, May 20, 1953) is a subcommittee report on "Power Requirements and Supply of the Missouri River Region." Seven appendices of the *Minutes of the Sixty-Second Meeting* (January 28, 1953) comprise a discussion of state-federal relations in the Basin program, while Appendix H in the same *Minutes* is a paper by John Muehlbeier, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, on "Watershed Districts for Local Participation in Resource Programs." These and many other papers appearing from time to time in the *Minutes* deserve more attention than they have had thus far from specialists in the field.

The fifth revision of the Inter-Agency Committee's *Program for Land and Water Resources Development of the Missouri River Basin*, a six-year proposal, was issued in October 1952. The joint state and federal program has an estimated cost of over \$11,000,000,000, of which the states would contribute about \$400,000,000. A popularized presentation of the program is available in pamphlet form, *The Missouri River Basin Development Program* (June 1952), from the Inter-Agency Committee at the Billings address above.

Other recent commentaries on resource problems include: *Eisenhower and Public Power*, by Judson King and Benton MacKaye of the National Popular Government League, Washington, D. C., December 15, 1952; *Our Water*

Resources, The Tax Foundation, New York City, 1953; *Federal Flood Control Operations in New York State*, by Ariel Klivaner, Cornell University Agricultural Experiment Station, Ithaca, New York, January 1953; *County Flood Control and Drainage Report*, Contra Costa County (Martinez, California) Taxpayers' Association, March 1953; and *Report of the Nebraska Legislative Council Committee on Oil and Natural Gas*, Lincoln, July 1952.

GUTHRIE S. BIRKHEAD

Women School Crossing Guards

The use of women and older men as school crossing guards to relieve the strain on police manpower has been adopted by more and more cities since the end of World War II. In *School Crossing Guards: a Major Police Development* (Institute of Public Administration, New York 21, 1953, 26 pages), Audrey M. Davies reports on a survey in which 196 major cities participated, 122 of which employ these guards on a part-time basis. Half of the police departments indicated specific financial savings. More than half reported no deaths or injuries since beginning their programs. Moreover, roughly 90 per cent of the police departments considered the programs an unqualified success.

The new crossing guard program for Newark, which will release 170 police for other duties, is described in *Employment of Women as School Crossing Guards* (Newark Bureau of Municipal Research, 1953, eight pages). Data is also presented on use of crossing guards in fifteen large cities, in all of which officials praised the idea highly.

Finally, a brief report of their survey of nine cities employing women crossing guards is given by the Civil Service Assembly, Chicago, in *Personnel News* for April 1953.

Home Rule Vote

The April 1953 issue of *Tennessee Town and City*, published by the Tennessee Municipal League at Nashville, contains several articles under the title, "Not in Chinese . . . But in Plain English, An Answer to: What Is Home Rule?" The articles were prepared in anticipation of the Tennessee Constitutional Convention which recently adjourned (see the REVIEW, July 1953, page 339) after submitting for vote this fall two proposals dealing with home rule.

Bureau Reports

Informed, Organized Citizen Action. A Proven Force for Sound Government. 13th Annual Report 1952-1953. Jefferson City, Missouri Public Expenditure Survey, June 1953. 7 pp.

Thirty-Second Annual Report. Duluth 2 (Minnesota), Governmental Research Bureau, 1953. 4 pp.

Twentieth Annual Report. New Haven (Connecticut), Taxpayers Research Council, 1953, 14 pp.

Worcester Taxpayers Association 1952-53 Activities. Worcester 8, (Massachusetts), Worcester Taxpayers Association, Inc., *Bulletin*, June 1953. 4 pp.

Research Pamphlets and Articles

Assessments

Assessed Valuations as a Measure for the Distribution of Business Replacement Taxes. Newark 2 (New Jersey), Bureau of Municipal Research, Inc., May 1953. 14 pp.

Auditing

A Councilmanic "Auditor"? Philadelphia 7, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business*, June 29, 1953. 4 pp.

Charters

The Government Corporation: Elements of a Model Charter. By Sidney D. Goldberg and Harold Seidman. Chicago, Public Administration Service, 1953. vii, 83 pp. \$2.50.

Problems of Organization and Operation Facing the Charter Commission. Newark 2, Bureau of Municipal Research, Inc., 1953. 13 pp.

Civil Defense

Civil Defense in the States—a Bibliography. By Dorothy C. Tompkins. Berkeley 4, University of California, Bureau of Public Administration, 1953. 59 pp. \$1.25.

Drainage

Drainage Problems Induced by Roadside Development. By Arthur P. Miller. Albany, Board of Trustees of the Town and County Officers Training School of the State of New York, in cooperation with the Association of Towns and the County Officers Association, *Highway Topics*, July 1953. 4 pp.

Education

Financing Public Education in New Mexico. Santa Fe, Taxpayers' Association of New Mexico, *New Mexico Tax Bulletin*, June 1953. 11 pp.

Major Administrative Problems of the Dade County School System. Miami 32, Dade County Research Foundation, *Research Memo*, June 12, 1953. 6 pp.

Milwaukee Teachers' Retirement System Liberalized Again—But Without Increase in Milwaukee's Share of Surtax. Milwaukee 2, Citizens' Governmental Research Bureau, Inc., *Bulletin*, May 29, 1953. 5 pp.

More State School Aid and New Taxes. Atlantic City (New Jersey), Tax Survey Commission, May 13, 1953. 5 pp.

Schools and Pensions. Los Angeles 14, California Taxpayers' Association, Inc., *Tax Digest*, June 1953. 34 pp. 25 cents.

Schools and the Modern Community. Detroit 26, Citizens Research Council of Michigan, *Council Comments*, May 15, 1953. 2 pp.

Summary of Findings and Recommendations of the Utah Public School Survey Commission Relative to the Utah Public Elementary and Secondary School System. Salt Lake City 1, Utah Foundation, 1953. 48 pp. \$1.00.

Utah's Public School Finance Problem—1953. Salt Lake City 1, Utah Foundation, *Research Report*, June 1953. 6 pp.

Judiciary

The Essentials of a Sound Judicial System. By Arthur T. Vanderbilt. Evanston (Illinois), Northwestern University, *Law Review*, March-April 1953. 15 pp.

The Record of the New Jersey Courts in the Fourth Year Under the New Constitution. By Arthur T. Vanderbilt. New Brunswick (New Jersey), Rutgers University, *Rutgers Law Review*, Winter 1953. 12 pp.

Local Legislation

Summary of Georgia Laws Affecting Local Government. January-February 1953. Athens, University of Georgia, Bureau of Public Administration, *Bulletin*, May 1953. 30 pp. \$1.00.

Metropolitan Areas

Structure of Governments in Metropolitan Areas. Springfield, Illinois Legislative Council, November 1952. v, 42 pp.

Municipal Government

Characteristics of Mayor-Council Plans (chart). New Brunswick (New Jersey), Rutgers University, Bureau of Government Research, 1953. 1 p.

The Development of Newark Government. A history of changes in the form and structure of local government in Newark, New Jersey, from 1666 to the present. Newark, Bureau of Municipal Research, 1953. 24 pp.

Los Alamos—Boom Town Under Control. By Paul M. Sears. Albuquer-

que, University of New Mexico, Bureau of Business Research, *Business Backgrounds* (Reprint from Vol. 6, No. 5, *New Mexico Business*), May 1953. 8 pp. 20 cents.

Report on a General Reconnaissance of the Municipal Government of Kansas City, Missouri. Prepared for the Municipal Survey Committee of the Chamber of Commerce. Chicago, Public Administration Service, 1952. xi, 50 pp.

Report of the Greater Ithaca Fact-Finding Committee. Ithaca (New York), the committee, 1952. viii, 347 pp., maps.

The Small Council-Manager City. A brief summary of governmental, financial, and planning data for council-manager cities under 5,000 population. By William C. Busby. Chicago 37, International City Managers' Association, *Public Management*, July 1953. 3 pp. (See also page 428, this issue.)

Official Expenses

Convention Expenses of Local Government Officials. By Harold W. Kennedy and Arvo Van Alstyne. Los Angeles 17, *Western City*, April 1953. 3 pp.

Parking

Parking Authority. Construction of Two Multi-Level Parking Garages Now under Way. Philadelphia 7, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business*, May 18, 1953. 4 pp.

Pensions

A Study of Pensions for Policemen and Firemen in the City of New Haven, Connecticut. New Haven 10, Taxpayers Research Council, 1953. 27 pp.

Personnel

Appointing City Laborers Poses Real Problems. Philadelphia 7, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business*, May 11, 1953. 4 pp.

Civil Service Provisions for Borough and Township Policemen and

Firemen. Philadelphia 4, University of Pennsylvania, Associated Institutes of Government of Pennsylvania Universities, *Municipal Administration*, June 1953. 2 pp.

Purchasing

City Purchasing—Houston Style. A Citizen Research Case History. By Gerald N. Hardy. New York 20, Governmental Research Association, Inc., *GRA Reporter*, May-June 1953. 3 pp.

Salaries

Detroit Teachers' Salaries. Detroit 26, Citizens Research Council of Michigan, *Budget Backgrounds*—4, May 25, 1953. 2 pp.

Iowa Municipal Salaries—1953. Iowa City, State University of Iowa, Institute of Public Affairs, in cooperation with the League of Iowa Municipalities, 1953. 32 pp. \$1.00.

Taxation and Finance

Annual Study of Debts—Taxes—Assessments. Summary of Twentieth Annual Study of Debts—Taxes—Assessments. Chicago 2, Civic Federation, *Bulletin*, June 1953. 23 and 2 pp. respectively.

Arizona's Tax Structure—A Comparative Study. (For the fiscal year ended June 30, 1950.) By Philip G. Hudson. Tucson, University of Arizona, Bureau of Business Research, *Arizona Business and Economic Review*, April 1953. 5 pp.

Comparative Analysis of Arkansas State Expenditures. By Edward W. Reed. Fayetteville, University of Arkansas, College of Business Administration, Bureau of Business and Economic Research, 1952. v, 287 pp.

Jersey City Business Tax Invalidated. Newark 2 (New Jersey), Bureau of Municipal Research, Inc., *Memo*, May 1953. 2 pp.

Transit

Mass Transit vs. the Automobile. Philadelphia 7, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business*, May 25, 1953. 8 pp.

Books in Review

Let's Look at the Record. By Thomas R. Amlie. Madison 5 (Wisconsin), Capital City Press, 1950. 612 pp. \$10.

The author, a member of the United States House of Representatives for three terms and with subsequent service (1944) in CIO-PAC research, has given us here a unique and important factual study of congressional voting on 666 key roll calls (75,000 votes) over twenty years. Congressmen shrink from roll calls, there may be as few as fifteen significant ones in a session, and evaluating a representative's performance, as contrasted with his speeches in his constituency, may, as the author says, require just such unusual long-term surveys as this. The record gets mixed by the fact that a conservative congressman may be very liberal in respect to a solitary "liberal" cause such as a great handout to his particular constituents.

The author, however, is not merely analyzing the voting behavior of congressmen by cool objective standards. His prodigious assemblage of facts should give high standing to his findings but, interlaced throughout this work, is his passionate and outspoken scorn of the basically conservative spirit of Congress and, who knows, of most constituencies.

The book abounds in reckless assumptions like these:

"Organized labor cannot avert the rapid drift toward dictatorship in the U. S. A. by fighting on a narrow trade union level" and "The total record of the Republican party . . . is one of complete and unswerving servility to the forces of economic monopoly."

The phrase "economic monopoly" recurs and its threat or current dominance is assumed as if it were simple fact and, we judge, believing it is necessary to make one a liberal. But the identification of what votes are

liberal is very much that of the author, who finds himself lonely in the present state of the public mind and strikes out savagely at all those in Congress or out who, however honestly, remain unimpressed by the opportunity to follow his minority philosophy on all fronts.

Nevertheless the book is a massive and impressive performance.

R. S. C.

Post-Mortem Investigations in New Mexico. By Frederick C. Irion. Albuquerque, University of New Mexico, Department of Government, 1953. 18 pp. 50 cents.

A factual study of the primitive service given, in determining the cause of unattended deaths in New Mexico, by justices of the peace under obsolete laws, and the various recent efforts to secure new legislation comparable to the National Municipal League's *Model State Medico-legal Investigative System*.

Tomorrow's Chicago. By Arthur Hillman and Robert J. Casey. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1953. x, 182 pp. \$3.50.

In this attractive and readable little book, the authors review the past, current and future things that really matter regarding the physical factors of Chicago as a place to live and work. For its lay citizens it sets forth the best thinking and programs of the orthodox specialists and displays them in a way that makes a broad and inspiring pattern.

Such a study for laymen would be useful in any city if there be such articulate and perceptive authors to write it and some scheme for its wide circulation.

Governmental and Financial Data for Small Council-manager Cities (revised). Chicago, International City

Managers' Association, 1953. 38 pp.
B.

Of the 17,053 urban communities under 5,000, about 500 have the council-manager plan. This sampling of financial, governmental organization, planning and zoning and personnel statistics covers 121 of them, tabulating data comparable in character and form to that which for larger cities has been valued feature of the association's annual *Municipal Yearbook*.¹

Additional Books and Pamphlets

(See also Researcher's Digest and other departments)

Air Pollution

Air Pollution Abatement Manual.
Bibliography, Appendix 2. By George F. Jenkins. Washington 5, D. C., Manufacturing Chemists' Association, 1952. 20 pp. 35 cents.

Care of Aged

How Our Older Families Are Housed. By E. Everett Ashley. (Address before University of Michigan Conference on Aging.) Ann Arbor, University of Michigan, 1952. 19 pp.

Foreign Government

Delegation of Services Within Countries. A Factual Survey. By J. R. Sampson. London, E.C.4, Hepburn & Sons, Ltd., 1953. 170 pp. 25s. (Apply Institute of Municipal Treasurers and Accountants, 1 Buckingham Place, Westminster, S. W. 1, London.)

Parliamentary Government in the [British] Commonwealth. A symposium. Edited by Sydney D. Bailey. New York, Philosophical Library, 1952. v, 217 pp. \$4.50.

A Survey of Unit Costing in Local Government. By Sydney Yates and R. E. Hervert. Uxbridge (England), King and Hutchings, Ltd., 1953. 103 pp. 20s. (Apply Institute of Municipal

Treasurers and Accountants, Inc., 1 Buckingham Place, Westminster, S. W. 1, London.)

Housing

A Comparison of the Characteristics of Negro Applicant and Tenant Families, Low-Rent Public Housing, Baltimore, Maryland, 1951. Baltimore, Housing Authority of Baltimore City, 1952. 25 pp.

Proposed Housing Code for Philadelphia. Philadelphia 3, Philadelphia Housing Association, 1953. 42 pp. \$3.00.

Report on Housing and Social Survey. Community Appraisal Study. Chicago, Hyde Park-Kenwood Community Conference and South Side Planning Board, 1952. vi, 63 pp. \$1.50.

Industrial Dispersion

Industrial Dispersion Guidebook for Communities. A Technique for More Secure Location of New Defense-Supporting Plants. By U. S. Department of Commerce, Office of Industry and Commerce, Area Development Division. Washington 25, D. C., Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office, 1952. iii, 22 pp. 20 cents.

Legislation

New Iowa Laws Affecting Local Government—1953. Iowa City, University of Iowa, Institute of Public Affairs of the State, in cooperation with the League of Iowa Municipalities, 1953. 54 pp. \$1.00.

Local Government

County and City Data Book 1952. Statistics included: For 1950, Agriculture, Area and Population, Banking, City Government Finances and Employment, Construction, Education, Family Income, Housing, Labor Force, Vital Statistics, and other subjects; for 1947 and 1950, Manufactures; for 1948, Trade and Services; and Climate. Washington 25, United States Government Printing Office, 1953. xxx, 608 pp. \$4.25.

¹For a review of this volume see the REVIEW, July 1953, page 372.

Parking

Parking—How It Is Financed. By Automotive Safety Foundation. Washington 6, National Retail Dry Goods Association, 1952. 48 pp. 75 cents. (Discounts on Quantity Orders.)

Public Relations

Proceedings First Annual Minnesota Public Relations Forum. Minneapolis, University of Minnesota, 1952. 53 pp \$1.00.

Public Welfare

Intergovernmental Relations in Welfare Administration. Dealing Particularly with Relations Affecting the New York City Department of Welfare. New York, Mayor's Committee on Management Survey, 1952. 102 pp.

State Government

American State Government (fourth edition). By W. Brooke Graves. Boston, D. C. Heath and Company, 1953. xi, 946 pp. \$6.25.

The Book of the States—Supplement II. Chicago 37, The Council of State Governments, 1953. 165 pp. \$2.00.

Taxation and Finance

Compendium of State Government Finances in 1952. By U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census. Washington 25, D. C., United States Government Printing Office, 1953. 65 pp. 35 cents.

The Finance Officer and Municipal Bonds. By James L. Beebe, Michael Borge, etc. Chicago 37, Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada, *Municipal Finance*, May 1953. 28 pp. 50 cents.

Traffic Safety

Operation Safety. Program Kit on Traffic Safety Promotion. Theme for October 1953: **Night Traffic Hazards.** Chicago 11, National Safety Council, 1953. Variously paged.

You Can Help Reduce Traffic Accidents and Congestion. Chicago 11, National Safety Council, 1953. 21 pp.

Uniform State Laws

Handbook of the National Conference of Commissioners on Uniform State Laws and Proceedings of the Annual Conference Meeting in Its Sixtieth Year, New York City, September 10-15, 1951. Baltimore, The Lord Baltimore Press, 1951. 432 pp.

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION

(Continued from page 414)

ship. From 1929 to 1933 he was assistant commissioner of Indian Affairs. In that connection he proposed P.R. as a solution for dissension which had developed among the Indians on the Klamath reservation in Oregon and arranged for the writer of this note to explain it to some of the leaders there. The suggestion was courteously received but not adopted.

Mr. Scattergood also held state and city office, as a member of the Pennsylvania Public Service Commission under Governor Pinchot from 1924 to 1926 and a member of the Board of Registration Commissioners of Philadelphia from 1906 to 1912.

For many years he applied his extensive business experience to the service of notable educational and welfare enterprises. He was treasurer of Haverford and Bryn Mawr Colleges and of the Christiansburg Industrial Institute, trustee of Hampton Institute, first chief of the Friends' Reconstruction Unit in France in World War I, and member of the original Red Cross Commission to France. He was an original member of the Philadelphia Committee of 70, one of the outstanding civic reform organizations of the country.

At his death at the age of 76, Henry Scattergood left a host of friends and a record of unostentatious, unhurried, kindly and efficient usefulness to his fellow men that is seldom equaled.

G. H.

Reid Appointed Federal Post

Thomas R. Reid, director of civic affairs for the Ford Motor Company and a member of the League's Council, was appointed director of defense mobilization for manpower in June for the balance of this year. He is dividing his time between Washington and his office in Detroit.

Thomas R. Reid

He served the federal government previously as chairman of the personnel policy board of the Department of Commerce and as assistant to industry members of the National War Labor Board Washington.

Convention of 1775

Be Re-enacted

"Give me liberty or give me death!" will ring out again Monday evening, November 9, when a group of Richmond actors re-enacts for visitors to the conference the 1775 Virginia convention at which Patrick Henry uttered those famous words.

The presentation, in costume, will be made in St. John's Church where the convention was held more than 175 years ago. The actor impersonating Patrick Henry will speak from the identical pew from which the American patriot spoke.

In conjunction with the re-enactment, Dave Mays, noted story-teller and Pulitzer Prize winner, will talk on "The Beginning of Local Government." Special buses will take Conference delegates to the event.

League Officers Testify at New York Hearing

Three League officers appeared before the New York State Commission to Study the Government of New York City at a public hearing July 14. They were Alfred Willoughby, executive director; George S. Van Schaick, vice president; and Richard S. Childs, chairman of the executive committee.

The nine-member commission was set up by the state legislature last March at the request of Governor Thomas E. Dewey, who had declared himself in favor of a city manager for New York. Representatives of New York civic organizations, political scientists, attorneys and former state and city officials also were among those invited to appear before the commission.

Purpose of the hearing was to delve into the method of appointment, term and powers of any proposed chief administrator for the city. Also discussed were alternative types of city government, budget-making, personnel management and allied subjects.

George McAneny, Veteran League Member, Dies

George McAneny, a civic leader in New York City and member of the National Municipal League for more than 50 years, died July 29 in Princeton, New Jersey. He was 83.

Mr. McAneny had served as president of the borough of Manhattan, president of the New York Board of Aldermen and chairman of the New York City Transit Commission. He also headed the National Civil Service Reform League and the City Club of New York.

Miller Named Assistant Labor Secretary

Spencer Miller, Jr., a member of the League's Council, has been appointed assistant secretary of labor in Washington.

Dr. Miller, former president of American International College, Springfield, Massachusetts, is in charge of the international aspects of Department of Labor activities.

Several years ago he was concurrently New Jersey state highway commissioner and a member of the faculty of the School of Commerce, New York University.

Dr. Miller has served as technical advisor to the U.S. delegation to the International Labor Conference, 1935; director, Workers Education Bureau of America, 1921-1942; and was associated with the Division of Research, U.S. Commission on Industrial Relations, 1915, and with the Industrial Department, U.S. Navy, 1917-1919. He has also served on the New Jersey Commission on State-Employee Relations and was a member of the labor committee, New York World's Fair, 1938-1939. In 1939 he was given the Rutgers University award for distinguished public service in industrial relations.

Timely Topics

(Continued from page 377)

and metropolitan area problems. Also scheduled is a City Charter Clinic, at which suggestions for the forthcoming revision of the League's *Model City Charter* will be considered.

The League and *Look* magazine will again co-sponsor the "All-America Cities" awards, the hearings for which have become a popular Conference feature. The awards are made to eleven cities for progress achieved by intelligent citizen action. A jury of distinguished Americans, headed by Dr. George H. Gallup, director of the Amer-

Collins Given Two State Assignments

William Collins, regional vice president of the League and chairman of its finance committee, received two appointments from Governor Thomas E. Dewey of New York within three days last month.



William Collins

vately owned bus companies. He was also appointed a member of the board of the new Westchester County Community College at White Plains.

Governor Dewey, terming the transit industry "sick," proposed a comprehensive study of taxes, operating expenses, declining passenger volume, traffic congestion and other factors contributing to lower earnings.

ican Institute of Public Opinion, will hear the cases presented by spokesmen for communities whose applications have survived the earlier scrutiny of the League's Contest Committee.

A record number of applications is expected this year. A brochure prepared by *Look* has been sent to a large list of public officials and civic organizations, informing them of the hearing and how to file an application.

Several noted speakers will deliver addresses at the luncheon and dinner sessions of the Conference. Their names will be announced in a forthcoming issue of the *REVIEW*.